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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CHILDREN'S POLITICAL PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRATIC VALUES

by

© MEINRAD E. BANDA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this exploratory study was to investigate the children's political perception and attitudes toward democratic values. Piaget's model of development provided the conceptual framework.

The study involved a sample of 772 children drawn from the St. Albert Public School System. On the basis of methodology the sample consisted of two groups of children. A total of 39 kindergarten, grades one and two children were involved in interviews aimed at the exploration of the children's basic political perception and attitudes toward political objects such as the government, Prime Minister, Queen, judge, policemen, national symbols and local political authorities. There were 733 grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children who completed attitudinal scales which were intended to explore their attitudes toward democratic political values such as anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, principle of equality, good citizenship and the notion of voting. Along with this the reasoning styles of the children were also investigated.

The kindergarten, grades one and two children's responses appeared to reflect their egocentric concrete mode of reasoning. This style of reasoning had an impact on the children's perception of the political objects. They tended to perceive the government in terms of isolated personalities rather than as an institution. The Prime Minister, Queen, judge, policeman, are popular among the children. Their knowledge about these political personalities is simplistic stereotyped based on their

own experiences. The Prime Minister appeared to be the most popular political figure among the children. The children seemed to have an idealized conception of the Prime Minister's role. They regarded the Prime Minister as kind, powerful, benevolent and of great importance. The youngsters' initial political relationship with the government appears to be established through the Prime Minister.

The youngsters showed awareness of the significance of the national anthem and the flag. It was observed that the youngsters seemed to be unaware of the local political authorities such as the Premier, the mayor and city council.

Piaget's concrete and formal or egocentric concrete and socio-centric modes of thinking appeared to exist among grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children. These modes of reasoning tended to influence the children's perception of the democratic political values. The children's tendency of perception of these values was reflected on their levels of support for the democratic values.

Grade four children's level of support was generally low. Percentages of children who tended to support such values ranged from 26 to 52. Grade six children's level of support for the democratic values was higher than that of grade four children. The level of support was expressed by 29 to 62.5 percentages of children. Both grades four and six had a substantial number of children who were uncertain in their response to items on the democratic values. Grade eight children's level of support for the democratic values tended to be similar to that of grade six children. Sometimes such a level of support tended to be

higher than that of the grade six children. Grades ten and twelve children's level of support for these values was relatively very high. Percentages of children who tended to support these values ranged from 45 to 83.

On the basis of the findings, it appears that the children's ages and modes of reasoning tend to influence their political perception and attitudes.

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Political Socialization

There is a disagreement among political scientists on what political socialization means. A universal definition, therefore, does not exist in the discipline of political socialization. Weissberg (1974) presents a number of definitions to indicate a diversity of conceptions of political socialization. However, there are certain definitions of political socialization which are predominant and frequently used by political socialization theorists. Renshon (1977, p. 5) has identified the following representative definitions presented by four theorists.

> (Socialization refers to) the process by which a junior member of a group or institution is taught its values, attitudes and other behaviors (Hess & Torney, 1967, p. 7).
>
> Political socialization refers to the learning process by which the political norms and behaviors acceptable to an ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation (Sigel, 1965, p. 1).
>
> The importance of such a formation (of politics is learned behavior) to understanding the stability of political systems is self-evident--humans must learn their political behavior early and well and persist in it. Otherwise there would be no regularity, perhaps even chaos (Hyman, 1950, p. 17).

For the purpose of this study these four conceptions of political socialization are relevant. A close look at these definitions reveals certain elements or themes which are common to all of them. These definitions imply that the adult generation is responsible for the transmission of their own political culture to the young generation. As Easton (1963, p. 134) further emphasizes, these conceptions of politi-

cal socialization share one implication.

> They suggest that somehow an adult generation is able to mold a rising generation into something like its own adult image. Theoretically this kind of conceptualization clearly implies that the outcome of socialization is to provide for the continuity of existing forms and actions, that is, to insure the stability both in the sense of consensus or order (as against chaos) and of consistency of the system over time.

Although these definitions, which are based on the notion of transmission, are pervasive in the field of political socialization, they appear to be limited tools for the conceptualization of political socialization. They assume the passive role of the child in political learning. Sears (1975, p. 95), in reaction to this, observes that the child's passive role, which these definitions seem to imply, overlooks "...the child's idiosyncratic personal growth, in which the developing human gradually obtains his own personal identity which allows him to express himself and to seek to meet his own idiosyncratic needs and values in hiw own way."

The passiveness of the child in political socialization is based on the assumption that the child is perceived as a tabula rasa (Renshon, 1977). Historically, the perception of the child as tabula rasa comes from philosophy (John Locke, 1632-1704) as a reaction against the then predominant perception of the infant as being born with innate intellectual tendencies. To this intellectual notion of the infant Locke insisted, as Hergenhahn (1976, p. 39) writes that "The infant mind at birth is a tabula rasa, a blank tablet, and experience writes upon it. The mind becomes what it experiences,..."

The implication of the doctrine of tabula rasa for socialization in general and political socialization in particular has far reaching

effects. As Dobzhasky (1973, p. 281) observes

> ...it implies that all human beings are deemed to possess the same potentialities at birth; they become different persons owing to varied ubpringing and training, and generally to varied circumstances in their lives.

The doctrine of tabula rasa is pervasive in social science, socialization, and political socialization (Renshon, 1977, p. 17). In political socialization the prevalence of the tabula rasa notion is evidenced by the conception of political socialization as already pointed out.

In sum, what is crucial in the tabula rasa doctrine is that the human being's behavior is essentially determined by the environment. For example, the child's biological factors and psychic makeup or personality do not play a role in the child's acquisition of political attitudes, values and behavior.

As indicated earlier the assumption of tabula rasa as far as political socialization is concerned, is currently under criticism. Some scholars believe that biological characteristics (Dobzhansky, 1973), psychic makeup or personality traits (Froman, 1961; Greenstein, 1965), and cognitive maturation (Ginsburg, 1969; and Dreitzel, 1973) play an important part in the child's political learning. As opposed to the child's passive role in the acquisition of political attitudes, values and behavior, the biological and psychic models place the child in an active role in political learning.

Piaget's (Ginsburg and Opper, 1969) model of development presents a contrary view of the growing child (this model is rele-

vant to this study and will be discussed in the related literature section). Piaget believes that a child undergoes four sequential intellectual stages of development; sensory motor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational. According to Piaget (Ginsburg and Opper, 1969) an infant at birth is born with two basic tendencies: to organize or systematize processes into coherent systems and to adapt to the environment. The tendency of adaptation involves two complementary processes: accommodation and assimilation, "...the latter referring to the child's action upon the modification of environmental transmissions, and the former stresses the child's modification of himself to meet the demand of the environment" (Renshon, 1977, p. 4).

Piaget's notions of accommodation and assimilation imply a reciprocal interactive relationship between environmental transmissions and the child. However, these two complementary processes--accommodation and assimilation--are enhanced by intellectual maturation. For example, Piaget asserts that a child must reach a certain maturation level (formal operational stage of intellectual development) to enable him to conceptualize ideas such as democracy and freedom of speech.

The application of Piaget's developmental model to political socialization process implies that the child's political learning process does not merely involve the society imprinting on the child's mind political attitudes, values and behavior. The child cognitively processes political transmissions, a process that leads to the child's accommodation and assimilation of these transmissions.

Connell (1971, who has extensively used Piaget's developmental model to explain the children's acquisition of political beliefs, attitudes, and values, believes that the child's development of thought or intelligence enables him to acquire political ideas, values, attitudes and behavior.

> And there is no doubt,...that it occurs for the most part without intervention by adults. The development through these stages[1], the construction of more and more elaborate interpretations of politics, and the gradual approach to political action, is basically due to the activity of the children themselves.
> The children selectively appropriate the (political) material provided by schools, by media, by parents and build of them individual structures (pp. 232-233, brackets mine).

Using Piaget's model of stage development in his studies of the children's acquisition of political beliefs, Connell (1971, p. 231) found that the children's development of political beliefs related to their stages of intellectual development (or Piaget's stages of intellectual development).

What appears to be important in Connell's findings is that the child is intellectually active as opposed to passive in the acquisition of political attitudes, values and behavior. Using Piaget's stage model Adelson and O'Neil (1966); Adelson, O'Neil and Green (1969) have obtained similar results in their studies of the children's perceptions or attitudes toward political ideas--sense of community and idea of law.

Although the application of Piaget's developmental model in the interpretation of the children's political learning is increasingly gaining widespread support (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green

---

[1]Piaget's stages of intellectual development.

and O'Neil, 1969; Tapp and Levine, 1970; Connell, 1971; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971) the models of political transmission have greatly influenced research trends and the child's process of learning.

Dennis (1973, p. 197) observes this situation by stating that "the major thrust of past research has been upon socialization and what the society does for the individual." This statement implies that political socialization research has mainly dealt with what the child has learned rather than how he acquires his political orientation, or in other words, research has concentrated on the outcome rather than the process of political learning (Renshon, 1977). Criticizing this trend of research, Sigel (1965, p. 3) remarks that "Political socialization is a misnomer for what we study because we study what children have learned--not how they have learned it." Again this trend of research is based on the notion of political learning that overlooks the child's own intellectual abilities which facilitate the accommodation and assimilation of political material provided by the adults. The child plays an active role in his political learning. Renshon (1977, p. 30) emphasizes this point in relation to the child-teacher relationship in the process of political learning as follows:

> ...(the) concepts of political learning which rely exclusively, or even primarily, on assumptions of transmission from teacher to learner, neglect an important dimension of that process. Part of the importance of creativity and insight as learning modes lies in the implication that models of political learning process must take seriously a view of the learner as creator and initiator as well as receptor.

In summary, this section has dealt with the definition of politi-

cal socialization. There are many definitions of political socialization. However, a number of definitions widely used appear to emphasize the notion of transmission. Political socialization involves a process by which society transmits political values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors to the younger generation. This conception of political socialization assumes a passive role of children in the process of political transmission.

The prevalence of this notion of political socialization has determined research direction which has concentrated on the study of what children have learned rather than how they have learned it. Furthermore, the conception of political learning is also based on the assumption of transmission. For example, the role of the teacher in the political learning process is to act as a transmitter of political material to the child who remains as a receptor. However, some scholars who are critical of the transmission models of political socialization argue that the child's biological characteristics, psychic makeup or personality traits, and maturational conditions, enable the child, as the learner, to play an active role as a creator, initiator, and receptor in the political learning process.

The Learner and Agents of Political Socialization

> While there is no acceptable approach to the study of political socialization, much of what is known and of what ought to be known can be summed up in the following paraphrase of Lasswell's formulation of the general process of communication: (1) who, (2) learns what, (3) from whom,...(Greenstein, 1965, p. 12).

"Who Learns?"

As noted previously, the society transmits political culture to

the younger generation.[2] The political transmission then involves an interactive process between adults and young children. In the attempt to answer the questions "who learns what?" and "how such learning takes place," research has concentrated for the most part on young children. As Hirsch (1971, p. 2) points out

> The rationale for researching this population is based on two propositions: first, that basic orientation toward politics are learned in early childhood and adolescence, and second, that this early socialization has important consequences for adult political behavior.

There is an agreement among scholars on the first proposition (Hirsch, 1971; Weissberg, 1974; Patrick, 1977) and this agreement is supported by prominent findings (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 41-62). It is believed that elementary school years are (Easton and Hess, 1962; Easton and Dennis, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Connell,1971; and Weissberg, 1974) important formative years for the child's political orientations. For example, Weissberg (1974, p. 27) states that before the age of five a child has acquired some basic political orientations. Easton and Hess (1962) claim that the years between the ages of three and thirteen represent a period in which the child acquires important political orientations, while Hess and Torney (1967) think that the period between grades three and five or the years between the ages of eight and ten appear to be especially important for the acquisition of political information and attitudes.

---

[2] "A political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues" (Ball, 1977, p. 52).

The influence of early political learning to adult political behavior is a matter of disagreement among scholars. Weissberg's (1974, pp. 24-31) discussion of this matter reveals that there are two alternative positions:

> The first, which we may refer to as the primacy argument, asserts that fundamental and enduring attitudes, values and behaviors are formed early in childhood. Young children are not miniature adults, but the basic developmental framework is asserted to be more or less formed by the age of ten (pp. 24-25).

On the other hand, some scholars, for example, Jennings and Niemi (1968) and Almond & Verba (1963) present the second alternative termed the recency argument. The proponents of the recency model assert that what is learned close to adulthood greatly influences adult political behavior and attitudes. Summarizing the two positions, Weissberg (1974, p. 25) comments as follows:

> Research exists to support both positions. However, a serious conflict need not exist between these two perspectives for each may be correct. Certain political orientations are learned very early in life and are highly resistant to change while differing political orientations may be susceptible to continual modification with recent learning being most important.

What Weissberg attempts to indicate here is that the two arguments--primacy and recency models, are not contradictory but rather complementary as far as the analysis of the child's political learning is concerned.

"Learns What?"

There are various situations in which children may acquire political attitudes, knowledge and behavior. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) discuss such situations in terms of direct and indirect methods of

political learnings, while Weissberg (1974) in his reviews, distinquishes four situations as sources of political learning: formal political instruction, informal political learning, the structure of authority, and experiences with political authority. A discussion of these four situations follows.

The school is an important institution in which children are provided with formal political instruction. Although most of the school subjects and the educational climate in classrooms and schools provide important situations for political learning, civic education or social studies plays a key role in the provision of formal political learning (Patrick, 1977). Non-school organizations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and church-related youth groups are also often involved in explicit political education (Weissberg, 1974).

Political education can take place informally. Casual political learning can take place almost anywhere--in school, at home, with friends or the mass media. These informal situations, unlike the formal institutions, provide political socialization programs which are not planned and organized. However, in each of these situations a child learns something.

In an institution such as a school, there is a need for the children to learn a relationship to established authority. For example, a child's first year in school requires him to learn a relationship to school authorities, especially his classroom teacher. The teacher teaches or transmits to the child appropriate attitudes and behavior which are expected of him. However, as Weissberg (1974, p. 17) indicates:

> Attitudes and behaviors are not only influenced by what is being transmitted, but also by how messages are transmitted. Indeed, it is entirely possible that political learning may occur where nothing is taught that has the political consequences. (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 63-64, have also discussed this point.)

The structure of authority (e.g. in classroom or school) and a relationship which emerges between the children and the authority exerts influence upon the child's political learning, such as obedience to the rules of the school or conformity to authority.

Experiences with political authority is a fourth way political orientations are acquired by children. A child's experience with, for example, a public official, can be regarded as a direct political experience. In this case a child learns about politics by actually interacting with public officials. As Weissburg (1974, p. 18) notes "...preadults can have numerous (political) experiences with public officials such as policemen, postmen, court officials, and, of course, school teachers (who are after all state officials)." (first brackets mine).

The content of political learning includes cognitive knowledge, attitudes (Easton and Hess, 1961 and 1962; Froman, 1961), intellectual skills, and participation skills (Patrick, 1977). Children acquire political knowledge, attitudes and skills from various content areas but Greenstein's (1969, p. 4) content areas of political learning are useful and relevant to this dicussion. Greenstein divides the content of political learning into three areas:

(a) Learning connected with the citizen role (partisan attachment, ideology, motivation to participate).
(b) Learning connected with subject role (national loyalty, orientations toward authority, conception of legitimacy of institutions).
(c) Learning connected with recruitment and performance of specialized roles, such as bureaucrat, party functionary, and legislator.

In regard to citizen role-learning, research reveals that most children are able to express a preference for one political party over another. Most children tend to agree with their parents' party preference. They also indicate positive voting behavior, for example, by stating that they would vote when they are old enough (Hess and Torney, 1967, pp. 147-167).

The concept of "ideology" has been or is being investigated. For example, under "ideology" children have been tested on their understanding of parties' ideologies--liberalism and conservatism (Greenstein, 1969, p. 67). Dennis' (1973, p. 182) study has dealt with the children's perception or attitudes toward three democratic themes--populistic and participant democracy, liberal or libertarian democracy, and pluralist democracy.

Research has also paid considerable attention to childhood learning of subject role (Greenstein, 1969). Studies report that children appear to have an awareness and knowledge about their national government (Easton and Dennis, 1969; Jennings, 1974; Greenstein, 1969). Furthermore, studies have also shown that children have a postive image of national leaders such as the President or Prime Minister (Hess and Torney, 1967; Connell, 1971).

The third area of content, "learning connected with recruitment

to performance of specialized role, such as bureaucrat, party functionary, and legislator" appears to be under-investigated, according to Hirsch (1971, p. 6).

"From Whom?"

Most scholars agree that the family, school, peer groups and youth organizations, media, church, social class, ethnic origin, and geographical region, act as agents of political socialization. (Easton and Hess, 1961; Greenstein, 1969; Froman, 1961; Hess and Torney, 1962; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; and Chaffee, et al, 1977). However, extensive research has concentrated only on the school, family, peer group and media as major agents of political socialization (Beck, 1977). As far as research on these agents is concerned, Hirsch (1971, p. 6) notes that "By far the most comprehensive inquiry into the agents of political socialization is that of Hess and Torney" (1967). These authors believe that socialization contexts are of three general types:

> The first type includes institution of well-defined structure and organization: the family, school and church.
> The second type of socializing influence occurs in large social settings. The most important of these social contexts are: social class, ethnic origin, and geographical region.
> A third type of influence in socializing process derives from the child's personal characteristics (1967, p. 93).

The second type of socializing influence is that which takes place in the larger setting. Hess and Torney identify these types: social class, ethnic origin, and geographic region. These writers observe that these contexts "are diffuse in the sense that the specific elements and experiences connected with them are numerous, subtle and difficult to measure precisely" (p. 74).

The third type of socializing influence is the personal characteristics of the child. These "individual characteristics" of the child have influence upon socializing efforts of the family, school, peer groups, and mass media. The authors maintain that

> Socializing is not exerted upon a passive receptive object. Each child's emotional, intellectual, and physical properties modify the images, attitudes and information transmitted to him by adults. The most salient influencing factor is intelligence. (for example) Much of political socialization occurs in school; the child's mental capacity mediates his comprehension of material presented in the classroom. (p. 94) (brackets mine).

Hess and Torney assert that high intelligence quotient accelerates the acquisition of political attitudes and values (pp. 222-225).

The direct teaching of political material provided by the school and family (in the first context) and political influence exerted by the peer groups (implied in the second context) are only effective along with three factors: exposure, communication and receptivity. These three factors according to Beck (1977, p. 177), are preconditions for agental influence.

The first precondition for effective teaching of political views is exposure. The learner must come into contact with the teacher, parents and even peer groups and media before socialization can be said to have taken place.

The second precondition for the successful teaching of political material is communication. Exposure alone does not ensure influence. There must be communication between the learner and the agents which has political content.

The availability of agents (exposure) and communication together

still do not ensure or guarantee agental influence. The third precondition then is the receptivity of the learner to communications which come from a particular agent. The receptivity of the learner to communications depends upon two aspects:

> The first is the nature of relationship between source and receiver. Strong emotional ties between these two certainly enhance receptivity.
>
> A second aspect of receptivity is the timing of the communication. Many socialization researchers have assumed that early learning is the most important learning because it is retained the longest and because it structures later learning (p. 118).

Beck (1977) insists that failure to satisfy anyone of these preconditions--exposure, communication, and receptivity--will result in the absence of influence from any particular agent. These three preconditions are satisfied by four major agents of socialization: the family, school, peer group, and media. A brief discussion of agental influence in political learning follows next.

The Family

The three preconditions--exposure, communication and receptivity, for the successful teaching of political views, are satisfied in the family for a child is in constant contact and interaction with his parents. Research reveals particular areas in political socialization of which the family exerts influence (Hyman,[3] 1959; Almond and Verba, 1963; Hess and Torney, 1967; Jennings and Niemi, 1968, 1974).

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[3] Hyman, H. Political Socialization. The Free Press, New York, 1959, pp. 54-55, presents a chart that summarizes past studies of the agreement in politically relevant views among parents and children.

The importance of the family's role in political socialization stems, as indicated earlier, from the family's monopoly of the child's formative years. The political material transmitted to the child during the formative years, according to some scholars, determines the individual's post-childhood political thought and action. Davies (1965) as quoted by Weissberg (1974, pp. 150-151) explains,

> The family provides the major means for transforming the mentally naked infant-organism into the adult, fully clothed in its own personality. And most of the individual's political personality--his tendency to think and act politically in a particular way--have been determined at home, several years before he can take part in politics as an ordinary adult citizen or as a political prominent.

The prominent role of the family in political socialization stems from two important factors, according to Dawson and Prewitt (1969). First, the family unit has access to the formative years when the foundation of the child's political self is being developed. Second, the family unit provides a child with opportunity for the development of emotional relationships and personal ties. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p. 108) further point out that

> The more intense and emotionally involved the relationship the more influence it is likely to have on the development of social and political behavior. It is these joint phenomena of extensive access and strong emotional ties, occurring during the formative years, that give the family such a prominent part in political socialization.

The family unit, especially parents, influence their children in political socialization in a number of ways. First, parents tend to transmit political attitudes and values which they consider valuable to their children. Second, parents present model examples that their children may emulate. Third, children form expectations from

experience in family relationships. Such expectations are later generalized to political objects.

Studies of political socialization have overwhelmingly "shown that individuals tend to have political attitudes and values like those of their parents" (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 111). Research further points out that prior to entering grade school the child has acquired the basic political orientations (Weissberg, 1974, pp. 150-152; and Hess and Torney, 1967) which include political identities, positive evaluation of political institutions and authority figures, compliance with rules or laws and obedience to authority, partisan preference, and voting behavior.

One of the major socializing functions of the family is then to provide young children with a basic set of identities. From early childhood the child learns that he belongs to his family and shares sexual characteristics with some children. Extending his identity beyond his family, the family environment provides opportunity for the child to acquire political identities (patriotic orientation). The family facilitates the acquisition of patriotic political attitudes such as nationalistic sentiment and loyalty to the nation and government (Hess and Torney, 1967).

Another important area of political socialization a child learns at home at an early age is the development of positive evaluation of political institutions and authority figures. The child's positive images of the government, the President or Prime Minister, and the policeman appear to emerge prior to entering grade school (Weissberg, 1974, p. 152).

The third area of political learning in which the family has influence is that it instills compliance to the rules or regulations and obedience to constituted authority--government, President or Prime Minister, or the policeman (Hess and Torney, 1967). Weissberg (1974, p. 152) notes how the child learns such attitudes toward constituted authority.

> No doubt one's initial experiences with the exercise of family authority provides the basis for subsequent going along with laws without questioning their validity. Put another way, it is through the family that the young child learns that authority must be obeyed merely because it is authority (e.g. "Do it because I say so and I am your father").

The child sees the father as being powerful but kind and helpful and so must be obeyed unquestioningly. The child then generalizes his obedience to his father to political father figures.

Finally, the family environment plays an important role in the transmission of democratic political attitudes (Hess and Torney, 1967). Parents tend to transmit democratic political attitudes, e.g. political participation, political efficacy, etc.)

The prominance of the family's influence in political socialization is questioned by other scholars. On the basis of their study, Hess and Torney (1967) argue that

> ...the effectiveness of the family in transmitting attitudes has been overestimated in previous research. The family transmits preference for political party, but in most other areas its most effective role is to support other institutions in teaching political information and orientations. Clear cut similarities among children in the same family are confined to partisanship and related attitudes.

This major conclusion on the family's influence in political learning is also supported by Jennings' and Niemi's (1968b, 1974)

and Connell's (1972) findings. On the basis of findings of over forty studies conducted between 1932 and 1965, including Jennings' (1968) study, Connell concludes that as far as the parents' influence on their children's political learning is concerned "pair correspondence...is persistently present but persistently weak" (p. 327). Connell further argues that the parental role in political socialization process does not involve

> ...directly molding the child's political views but, rather, that of placing the child into a socio-political context which resembles that of the parents. The true agents of socialization are to be found in that context, not in the parents themselves (Beck, 1977, p. 124).

Connell's contention implies that other agents, along with the parents, exert political influence upon the child.

The School

> The school apparently plays the largest part in teaching attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system. While it can be argued that the family contributes much to the socialization that goes into basic loyalty to the country, the school gives content, information, and concepts which expand and elaborate these early feelings of attachment (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 217).

The school's political content has two facets. One deals with political socialization, a process whereby society's political norms are transmitted to the young children. The second facet can be referred to as political education, a process in which children learn analytic skills which enable them to raise questions and to examine alternative answers about modal political values and tradition, and to appraise societal ideals and realities (Patrick, 1977, p. 190). The concept of political education as used in political socialization means the transmission of societal political norms and the

appraisal of such norms, a process that may lead to rejection and to the remaking of them (ibid., p. 192).

Political education in schools provides opportunities for children to acquire political knowledge, attitudes, intellectual skills, and political participation skills. The learning takes place in a number of ways. Weissberg (1974, 158-167) lists four ways in which political learning takes place in the school: explicit transmission of political orientations, classroom and school structure, social mixture of the school environment, and the impact of extracurricular activities.

A civic or social studies course is a good example of explicit transmission of political orientation. In North America, for example, the central focus of a civics or social studies course is the development of democratic citizenship. As Patrick (1977, p. 195) points out,

> The common goal of education for good citizenship is weighted heavily with affective concern such as promoting interest in politics, tolerance of diversity, feeling of efficacy, feeling of trust in government, feelings of patriotism, support for law and order...

The attitudinal objectives stressed in civic courses in North America derive from the notion of Western democracies. Dennis (1973, 182-183) describes the Western democracies as consisting of three strands or themes appropriate to pre-adult socialization.

The first theme, which is known as popular rule, or populistic and participant democracy, is characterized by institutions such as free and frequent elections of political leaders, universal suffrage, and majority rule. The second theme, termed liberal or libertarian

democracy, is mainly concerned with the protection of individual and minority political rights. It emphasizes the right to dissent from majority opinion and also the right to criticize the leaders.

The third theme known as "Pluralist democracy...stresses the maintenance of organized opposing political groups and other means of expression of political alternatives." The main aim of civics courses is to provide opportunity for children to acquire democratic orientations, some of which consist "...of beliefs and attitudes that support the potentially conflicting practices of majority rule and the protection of minority rights" (Patrick, 1977, p. 195). Although civics courses are concerned with explicit transmission of political material, patriotic rituals such as singing the national anthem, pledging allegiance to the flag, and subjects such as reading, language, and art also play an indirect role in the explicit transmission of political content (Weissberg, 1974, pp. 158-159; Hess and Torney, 1967, pp. 121-123).

Classroom and school authority structures have political repercussions. The school authority structure provides a political relationship between the children and authority figures. Children learn political democratic attitudes as they interact with the school authorities. However, the acquisition of such democratic attitudes only take place when the schools and classrooms operate democratically. "Democratically disposed citizens can only develop in democratically-oriented schools" (Weissberg, 1974, p. 163).

Although teachers and textbooks serve as important sources of political learning in school, children also learn from one another.

The social mixture of the school environment is the third way in which political orientations can take place. For example, a school which has a mixture of children from lower and middle class families appears to be a conducive environment for the lower class children who are normally socialized into middle class children's political attitudes (Langton, 1967).

Schools encourage children to be involved in extracurricular activities such as Boy Scouts or Girl Guides, and other clubs. It is assumed that such clubs are organized on the basis of democratic principles. Weissberg (1974, p. 166) describes such school-sponsored clubs as having "...elected officers, decision-making functions, bargaining and compromise, and rules of fair play, they thus provide a realistic introduction to democratic politics."

Peer Groups

The third important agent in political socialization is the peer group "...a term used to designate both age-homogeneous groups in general (the peer sub-culture) and age-homogeneous friendship groups in particular" (Beck, 1977, p. 131). The child's (age-homogeneous friendship group) peer group appears to have influence on his political learning. This is because, as Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p. 105) describe it, a peer group is a primary group in the sense that it is characterized by primary social relationships. "Primary groups are small, informally structured, and characterized by personal and deep emotional relationship between members."

The peer group's political influence tends to be greater in

adolescence than in early childhood and preadolescence when the child's political views are mainly influenced by the family and school. Peer groups tend to exert influence on political efficacy and trust, partisanship and voting decision, political information, support for system and civil liberties, specific issue positions, politicization, and participatory orientations (Silbiger, 1977, p. 182).

The Media

Mass media, which includes everything from comic books to television, have an impact on the children's political socialization. However, research suggests that media influence is limited to the child's acquisition of political knowledge rather than attitudes (Chafee, et al. 1977).

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

Canadian political socialization theorists are increasingly concerned about the impact of the American theoretical underpinnings of the concept of political socialization on the Canadian context. The theoretical perspective of the American political socialization, it is claimed, is predominant in Canada. This concern has led the Canadian political theorists to conduct studies in the Canadian context and attempt to develop a theoretical framework based on the Canadian context (Pammett and Whittington, 1976, p. 1).

Studies reported in Pammett's and Whittington's book (1976) reveal some findings that contradict the American findings. For example, American studies reveal that American children learn the basic political attitudes early (Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis,

1969; Stacey, 1978; Weissberg, 1974). Since the early age of the child puts him directly under the parents' social and cultural influence, the family becomes the most influential agent in molding the child's basic political attitudes. For example, it is believed by American proponents of early political socialization that partisan preference is learned by the time the child is ten years old. This means that at this age the child identifies with a particular political party, that of his parents. This is contrary to Canadian evidence as Pammett and Whittington (eds. 1976, p. 24) state.

> Such Canadian evidence exists, however, placing the learning of party identification, indeed of all political perceptions and cognitions, at a later place in life. Canadian children, it has been suggested, are likely to be older than American children when they develop a preference for a party, and consequently such a preference is less likely to be the party preference of the parents.

Studies conducted in Canada further indicate that the development of political knowledge and attitudes in children seem to be parallel. This means that the child's development of political knowledge is essential, for example, for the acquisition of political attitudes toward a political party or object. The Canadian evidence has implication for the role of the family or parents as agents of political socialization. While American evidence suggests that the child's early political learning is heavily influenced by the parents, the Canadian evidence indicates that the initial political learning takes place in the second decade of the child's life and that such learning is mainly influenced by the peers, not the parents. In the second decade of the child's life the child is no longer solely de-

pendent on the parents for cultural or social learning. It is at this age that the child can associate or identify with his peers or even with other adults like the teacher.

The trend of the Canadian findings calls for the formulation of a Canadian theoretical framework of political socialization. On the other hand, the study of political socialization in Canada appears to be a complex one. Historically Canada is founded by two ethnic groups which are sometimes known as "charter groups" (Porter, 1965). The

> ...two ethnic groups, French and British (English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish) are preponderant and relations between these groups have been a dominant theme in Canadian politics. These two groups are the only ones specifically recognized in the Constitution and political traditions...(White, et al, 197 , p. 11).

Although the unitary form of government is evident at the federal level, the political relationship between the two founding peoples gives rise to different political and cultural orientations. This is because each of the charter groups has distinct historical and cultural backgrounds.

This implies that the young undergo a varied form of cultural orientation and political socialization process. In his study of civics education in Canada, Hodgett's (1968, p. 13) suggests that "young English and French-speaking Canadians are being raised on sharply opposed views of our history which create entirely different value systems for each group."

The problem of the study of political socialization is further compounded by the Canadian Constitution (BNA Act, 1867) which places education under the jurisdiction of the provinces. Since the con-

stitution encourages diversity rather than similarity, provincial educational systems tend to transmit to the young those cultural or political values and attitudes relevant to a particular local environment. This situation implies that Canada has more than one political culture. Pammett and Whittington (1976, p. 28) describe the Canadian political culture as follows:

> ...The media, as well as formal civics teaching in the school, appear to be the primary agents for transferring to young people a feeling of their political history and the common feelings and symbols which bind them to others within the same culture. They create a national pride, a belief in the country that forms a basic attachment upon which the more specific attitudinal components of political culture can be built.
>
> It is, of course, just such a basic set of beliefs which many observers have found to be lacking in Canada. Differences in the focal points of loyalties (to locality, province, region, county, not to mention the governments of these units) have been apparent to many researchers...There is no clear consensus among Canadian social scientists about whether Canada has one, two, five or ten political cultures. The Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, as well as several French-Canadian writers, favour the two nations view. Others divide Canada into the standard five regions of British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic provinces. Still others maintain that we should consider Canada as having ten political cultures, corresponding to the provincial boundaries. Whatever the divisions, they are deep enough to warrant the conclusion that there is no single Canadian political culture.

The diversified nature of the Canadian political culture has implications for research in the field of political socialization. It calls for regional or provincial studies which can cater to the local political socialization process (Forbes, 1976; Ullman, 1976). However, the overall picture of research in political orientation in Canada indicates that "...there is very little direct transmission of political values to the children. What are transmitted...are attitudes toward law and order and general feelings toward government and people

in authority" (White, et al, 1977, p. 116).

Political education (which is supposed to deliberately transmit political values and attitudes) and political socialization process in general in Canada appear to be fragmented into ten subsystems. The role of the school or political education in these subsystems or provinces is said to be minimal because the "schools have little conscious attempt to politicize their students" (White, et al, 1977, p. 117).

In sum, it can be stated that political socialization in Canada is fragmented into ten subsystems or provinces. This situation calls for provincial studies that can cater to local political socialization process. Such provincial studies would have implications for a theoretical framework of political socialization process. They would influence the development of a different theoretical model based on the Canadian experience.

THE PROBLEM

Research on political socialization is still confronted with the major questions such as what, when, and how children learn political material (Hirsch, 1971; Renshon, 1977; Torney, 1976). As pointed out in the theoretical background section, political socialization research to date has mainly been concerned with what the child has learned. This emphasis on the outcome of political learning implies the conception of political learning as transmission, a process in which the child or learner plays a passive role.

The conception of the passive role of the child in the political

learning process ignores the child's acquisition of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior that exist in the child's culture (Piaget, 1965). In political socialization in general and the development of democratic political attitudes in particular, the child's characteristics, especially intelligence, play an active role in the acquisition of those attitudes (Hess and Torney, 1967; Connell, 1971).

This study explored the developmental process through which children in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve acquire democratic political attitudes such as anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, equality of rights and freedoms, good citizenship, and voting. It is assumed that the different age levels and their associated developmental stages (Piaget's intellectual development stages) of these children (in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve) give rise to different stages of the development of the above democratic political attitudes among them.

An exploration of the basic political orientations was also conducted involving children in kindergarten, grades one and two. The exploration included the children's perception of the Government, city council, political authorities such as the Prime Minister, the Queen, Premier, judges, policeman and mayor; national symbols such as the flag and the national anthem. Piaget's developmental model was used to interpret the results of this study.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study was designed for the following purposes:

1. To explore grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's

attitudes toward democratic political values such as anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, equality of rights and freedoms, good citizenship and voting.

2. To explore kindergarten, grades one and two children's basic political orientations such as the perception of the government, city council, political authorities such as the Prime Minister, Queen, Premier, judge, policeman and mayor; national symbols, namely the flag and anthem.

3. To analyze and explain the children's feelings toward democratic values and the basic political orientations in relation to Piaget's developmental model.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was concerned with the following questions:

1. What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the government, city council, political authorities and national symbols?

2. Will the kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of the government, city council, political authorities and national symbols reflect Piaget's stages of development?

3. What do children in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve feel about selected democratic political values?

4. Will the children's different age levels give rise to different feelings toward democratic political values.

5. Will the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's

pattern of democratic political attitudes reflect Piaget's stages of development?

ASSUMPTIONS

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. Piaget's stages of intellectual and attitudinal development provide a sound theoretical base of analysis and of understanding the developmental process of democratic political attitudes and the basic political orientations in children.

2. (a) The school, family, peer groups, and mass media play an important role in the children's political orientations.

(b) The child plays an active as opposed to passive role in the political learning process.

3. Kindergarten, elementary and high school children are at different stages of intellectual development according to Piaget's model.

4. Oppenheim's and Torney's attitudinal questionnaires and open-ended interviews indicate developmental patterns of the development of political attitudes and perception in children.

5. There is a relationship between the children's levels of support and perception of the democratic values.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

Political socialization is a young discipline. The first book (Hyman, 1959) was published just about two decades ago. The publication of this book gave rise to studies which have concentrated on what and how the child is oriented politically.

One of the areas researchers of political socialization have paid

special attention to is the development of political attitudes in children. Some of the studies have specifically dealt with the development of democratic political attitudes (e.g. Hess and Torney, 1967; Dennis, 1973; and Torney, 1976). The questions concerning what feelings children have toward democratic values and when and how they acquire such feelings or attitudes is still facing researchers and educators (Hess and Torney, 1967; Torney, 1976; Renshon (ed.), 1977).

There is a growing tendency among researchers of political socialization to study the child's political attitudes separately (from political knowledge). This tendency is based on the assumption that political "knowledge and attitudes may develop both separately and together, in ways that are isolated or integrated to varying degrees" (Oppenheim and Torney, 1974, p. 18). Referring specifically to the children's development of democratic political attitudes, Oppenheim and Torney further state that there is a need for democratic attitudes to be measured separately "...partly because children's attitudes in this sphere so often develop when their knowledge is as yet rudimentary..." (1974, p. 13).

There is a need for a systematic study of the children's (elementary and high school grade levels) development of political attitudes or specifically democratic political attitudes in order to determine developmental patterns which can provide an insight into the contents of the children's political or demodratic attitudes at various grades or age levels (Hess and Torney, 1967; Torney, 1976; Beck, 1977). An interpretation of such developmental patterns in terms of Piaget's developmental model would indicate relationships between the

children's contents of political or democratic attitudes and their levels of intellectual development (Simpson, 1977; Friedman, 1977). This will further provide an insight into the reason why children at various age levels have different political perceptions or attitudes toward democratic values.

This insight can be useful for classroom teachers in their preparation of social studies instructional material aimed at helping children to develop democratic political attitudes. Curriculum developers who are involved in social studies program planning can also benefit from this insight into the children's developmental process of democratic attitudes and the basic political orientations.

Furthermore, the need for this study stems from certain assumptions which underlie the Social Studies Program in Alberta. The emphasis on the affective domain in this program is partly aimed at helping children to acquire democratic political attitudes (1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum).

The researcher's interest in political education, or the development of democratic political attitudes and basic political orientations in children, is also a motive behind this study.

LIMITATIONS

The proposed paper-and-pencil survey used as a technique to explore the developmental trend of democratic political attitudes had two important limitations. This type of survey, which is characterized by fixed-choice questionnaires, assumes that

> ...the universe of discourse in a particular area is already mapped out, and the meaning of differences among response alternatives well understood. In the absence of such knowledge, difficulties regarding the range and interpretation of responses are likely to ensure (Renshon, 1977, p. 10).

Another limitation of this study was that it used the same questionnaires or scales for children of varied age levels. It was noticed that some of the questions appeared to be too difficult for the younger children or too easy for the older ones. Attempts were made to minimize this problem (Chapter III).

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study the following terms are used as defined.

Political Socialization:

is a process whereby the family, school, peer group, and media transmit to children the society's political norms (Patrick, 1977, p. 190; and Weissberg, 1974, pp. 150-168).

Political Education:

involves the school's transmission of the society's political norms or traditions to the children. It also means that children critically examine the political norms and appraise the gap between the societal ideals and realities (Patrick, 1977, p. 190).

Democratic citizenship values:

are values which include active political participation, obedience to the law, loyalty, interest in fellow citizens, voting (Oppenheim and Torney, 1974, p. 22).

Egalitarian or democratic values:

are civil liberties, anti-authoritarianism, equality of rights and freedoms, good citizenship, voting (Ibid., p. 21). The children's attitudes toward these values are explored in this study.

Democratic political attitudes:

are attitudes toward democratic values mentioned above.

Political culture:

> "...is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues" (Ball, 1977, p. 52).

SUMMARY

Political socialization is a concept with many definitions. However, a number of definitions widely used appear to emphasize the notion of transmission. Political socialization involves a process by which society transmits political values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors to the younger generation. Although this conception of political socialization assumes a passive role of children in the process of political transmission, it is also argued that the child's biological characteristics, psychic makeup or personality traits, and maturational conditions enable the child as the learner to play an active role as a creator, initiator, and receptor in the political learning process. The family, school, peer group, and media are important sources of the child's politial learning.

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The first section discusses Piaget's model of development which is intended to be used to explain the findings in the next chapter. The application of Piaget's theory in political socialization is explained in the second section. The purpose of this section is to review studies of political socialization and show how the findings of these studies have been interpreted in terms of Piaget's theory of intellectual development. The third section is a review of studies on democratic political attitudes. This section intends to present a general picture of what is known about the children's development of democratic political attitudes.

PIAGET'S STAGES OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Piaget's theory of sequential intellectual development is based on two principles which have been postulated by Piaget himself. Piaget (Ginsburg and Opper, 1969, pp. 6-7) states that a human being is born with two basic tendencies. The first is organization which refers to the tendency which enables a human being to systematize or organize his processes into coherent systems. The second principle states that a human being has innate tendencies to adapt to the environment. The tendency of adaptation involves two complementary processes: assimilation and accommodation. "Assimilation involves the person's dealing with the environment in terms of his structures,

while accommodation involves the transformation of his structures in response to the environment." (Ibid., p. 19). The two basic tendencies of organization and adaptation together constitute congnitive structures or schemata which enable a child to differentiate between experiences and also to make generalizations from one experience to another.

On the basis of his studies on children's intellectual development, Piaget believes that younger children have innate cognitive tendencies (organization and adaptation). It is therefore the responsibility of the adult to provide a conducive environment in which the children themselves can develop these tendencies into cognitive structures, or schemata.

The development of the cognitive structure involves a process which includes four stages: these are the sensorimotor stage; the preoperational stage; the concrete operational stage; and the formal stage. Piaget believes that these stages are characterized by

> ...first...integrated wholes which differ qualitatively, not just quantitatively; second, each new stage is an integration, and replacement, of the prior one; third, it is the product, not of passive cultural transmission, but of active cognitive synthesis or the individual part; and, fourth, the stages occur in sequence which is the same for all individuals no matter their cultural background (Simpson, 1977, p. 368).

Sensorimotor Stage

Piaget's first stage of intellectual development is termed as sensorimotor. An infant up to two years of age is in this stage. The infant uses his senses and motor skills to interact with the environment. The sensorimotor is further divided into six stages.

In stage one the newborn uses his reflexes for interaction with his environment. For example, the first thing the infant experiences is the search and recognition of the nipple.

In stage two the infant develops the motor co-ordination to enable him, for example, to bring his hand to the mouth, which Piaget terms as "the primary circular reactions." The infant also begins to learn how to anticipate future events. He also attempts to imitate models but in a primitive way. At this stage, the infant lacks a mature object concept.

In stage three the infant is still immature but he begins to learn behavior and interest which are applicable beyond his body. Piaget states that at this stage the infant learns a number of things:

1. The infant develops secondary circular reactions. By chance, he discovers an interesting environmental event and attempts to rediscover the actions which produced it.
2. The infant shows preliminary indications of classification or meaning...
3. The infant's imitation is now more systematic and precise. He is fairly successful at imitation of models, but only when familiar patterns of behavior are involved.
4. The infant makes considerable progress toward attainment of the object concept. (Ginsburg and Opper, 1969, p. 67).

In stage four the infant's learned behavior is increasingly and systematically organized. He can formulate a goal in mind and uses one scheme to enable him to attain that goal. Piaget conceives of this behavior as purposive and therefore intelligent. In this stage the infant is able to recognize the existence of relationships among objects. As he interacts with his environment he develops the ability to anticipate future events which are not associated with his own

actions or behavior. Lastly, it is during this stage that the infant is able to imitate novel behavior models.

In stage five the infant reaches the final stage of the sensorimotor. According to Piaget the infant's ability to imitate and to produce new behavior and events is further developed. The infant's object concept is also more advanced.

In the sixth stage the infant has reached a stage in which he is able to form mental presentations of models or objects. Developmentally, he begins to use mental images rather than physical contact as he interacts with his social and physical environment. The infant's mental development becomes crucial when he enters the next two major stages (operational and formal stages) of intellectual development. As the infant grows his social and physical environment expands and his interaction with them become more and more complex. Such complex interaction demands a great deal of intellectual skill and knowledge.

Preoperational Stage (2 - 7 years)

In the period from two to seven years, the child undergoes an important process in the development of mental symbols by imitation. The child develops a capacity to form mental symbols which represent things or events which are not visible. What seems to be crucial at this period is that the child's "Mastery of symbols permits mental manipulation of symbols and objectives" (Biehler, 1974, p. 118).

In the same period, the child begins to learn speech. Piaget

states the child's language at this intellectual development period is egocentric.

> Piaget believes that one of the most distinctive features of the speech and thought of young children is that it is primary egocentric; that is, the child is unable to take into account another person's point of view. He interprets words and uses them in terms of his own experience, not yet grasping the possibility that the other children or adults who have had different experiences may have different conceptions (Ibid. p. 115).

Another intellectual characteristic of the preoperational child (between 2 - 7 years) reveals his inability to concentrate (mentally) on more than one object or event at a time. This tendency has an impact on his reasoning ability. This is confirmed by Piaget's experiment on the principle of conservation - "the idea that mass, or substance, does not change when the shape or appearance of an object is transformed" (Ibid., p. 116). In this experiment the child indicated a lack of understanding of the principle of conservation.

To summarize, Piaget believes that at this intellectual development period the child reveals the following intellectual characteristics which are of an egocentric nature:

1. The child's mental ability allows him to handle a situation or an objective at a time. He cannot mentally deal with more than one event or situation simultaneously.

2. The child's language is egocentric. For example, the child's intellectual ability does not enable him to deal with the other point of view as well as his own simultaneously. He tends to concentrate on his own point of view.

3. In case of applying for example, the rules of the games, "the young child fails to consider both his own interests and the needs of others" (Ginsburg and Opper, 1969, p. 115).

4. The child imitates a person whom he respects or ad-

mires for he wants to be admired too.

5. As far as the child's moral judgment is concerned, Piaget indicates that "...the child cannot consider both degree of damage and intention, and he basis his judgment entirely on the former" (Ibid., p. 115).

6. In case of reasoning the child reasons about things on the basis of his memory of what happened in the past. This is contrary to the mature person's deductive reasoning.

Concrete Operational Stage(7 - 11 years)

The growing child,between the age of 7 - 12 years, comes into contact with more social institutions as well as points of view which are contrary to his own. According to Piaget, within this period the child's thought undergoes a process of decentration. Decentration is the ability which enables a child to mentally concentrate on two or more ideas, experiences, or events simultaneously. Children lack this ability in the sensorimotor and egocentric periods

The child acquires other intellectual characteristics:

1. As far as his speech is concerned, he is able to express himself as well as anticipate the listener's response.

2. When the child is involved in games, his behavior is no longer egocentric. He can now consider both his interests and other's interest. This is fulfilled by following the rules of the game and willingness to mutually modify them.

3. In moral judgment the child can now examine and determine the relationship between the outcomes of his or another person's behavior and their intent - cause and effect.

4. In this period Piaget feels that the child's reasoning power has developed to the extent that he is able to deal with complex problems or situations. Given different situations, events or ideas, the child can determine their differences and similarities among them.

Biehler (1974, p. 118) summarizes the concrete operational period by stating that at this stage the child acquires an

> Ability to conserve, decenter and reverse but only with reference to concrete objects. Capacity to mentally manipulate concrete experiences that previously had to be physically manipulated. Ability to deal with operations - interiorized actions involving reversibility - but not ability to generalize beyond the actual experience.

The Formal Operational Stage (12 years and over)

At this age Piaget thinks that the child has reached an advanced stage of cognitive development or a high degree of equilibrium of mental operations. When the adolescent faces a scientific problem he is now able to approach the problem systematically. He explores several possibilities which he thinks will serve as a solution to the problem. Piaget thinks that in this stage the adolescent is engaged in hypothetical analysis. He attempts to determine a hypothesis which will enable him to generate data from which a solution to his problem may emerge. The hypothetical analysis, in fact, is a process in which the adolescent generates alternatives which can serve as possible solutions to his problem. He makes decisions upon the alternative solution which he thinks is more relevant to his problem. The formulated hypothesis is then experimentally tested to provide the adolescent a scientific conclusion or solution to his problem. Piaget's experiment also shows that given the conclusion, the adolescent can reason about it in order to generate new interpretations.

In sum, the adolescent's mental or thought characteristics are as follows:

> One is that the adolescent's system of mental operations has reached a high degree of equilibrium. This means...that the adolescent's thought is flexible and effective. He can deal efficiently with the complex problems of reason. Another major theme is that the adolescent can imagine the many possibilities inherent in a situation...the adolescent can transcend the immediate here and now. He can compensate mentally for transformations in reality...(Ginsburg and Opper, 1969, p. 181).

Summary

Piaget's four developmental stages - sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational are summarized by Biehler (1974, p. 118, Table 3-2).

Stages (or Periods) of Intellectual Development as Described by Piaget

Name of stage and age range	Description
Sensorimotor (birth to 2 years)	Learning about properties of things through senses and motor activity. Eventual development of new ways of dealing with situations.
Preoperational (2 - 7 years)	Mastery of symbols permits mental manipulation of symbols and objects. Acquisiton of language that is egocentric--words have a unique meaning to each child, which limits ability to consider others' points of view. Gradual acquisition of ability to decenter (think of more than one quality at a time) and understand conservation.
Concrete operational (7 - 11 years)	Ability to conserve, decenter, and reverse but only with reference to concrete objects. Capacity to mentally manipulate concrete experiences that previously had to be physically manipulated. Ability to deal with operations--interiorized actions involving reversibility--but no ability to generalize beyond actual experience.
Formal operational (11 years and above)	Ability to deal with things not present and with abstractions. More interested in possibilities than realities, capable of imagining various future alternatives and of developing hypotheses.

Piaget's Attitudinal Stages

Piaget (1965) was also interested in the children's attitudes towards the origin of rules of the game as well as their feelings about the breach of such rules. He questioned the children to determine whether the children thought the rules of the game could be changed and where they originated. Piaget's investigation, based on this question, reveals that the child's attitudinal development consists of two major stages.

The first stage, approximately, starts from four to five years to about nine to ten years. At this initial stage Piaget feels that the child thinks that the game originated from an authority or adults. He regards the rules of the game

> ...as sacred and untouchable, eminating from adults and lasting forever. Every suggested alteration strikes the child as transgression. (Piaget, 1965, p. 18)

The child's attitude towards the rules reflects his general attitude towards the adults. According to Piaget the child at this stage respects adults, particularly those whom he admires--for example, parents and teachers. He sincerely respects the parents' and teachers' commands or orders which appear to him as sacred. (Ibid., p. 19)

On the other hand, when the child reaches about the age of six he tends to accept changes introduced to the rules. But his acceptance of such changes is due to his lack of understanding of the rules. He does not appreciate the reasons for the changes

involved.

The second major stage starts at about ten or eleven years. Piaget indicates that at this stage the child's consciousness of the rules is transformed.

> ...the rule of the game appears to the child no longer as an external law, sacred insofar as it has been laid down by adults; but as the outcome of a free decision and worthy of respect in the measure that it has enlisted mutual consent. (Ibid., p. 57)

Furthermore, at this stage of attitudinal development the child allows or accepts changes in rules but on the basis of majority vote.

> ...Thus democracy follows on theocracy and gerontocracy: there are no more crimes of opinion, but only breaches in procedure. All opinions are tolerated so long as their protagonists urge their acceptance by legal methods. Of course some opinions are more reasonable than others. Among the new rules that may be proposed, there are innovations worthy of acceptance because they will add to the interest of the game. (Ibid., p. 57)

APPLICATION OF PIAGET'S DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

A review of literature on the application of Piaget's cognitive theory in political socialization reveals that only four studies (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, et al, 1969; Tapp and Levine, 1970, and Connell, 1971) have applied this theory to explain the children's political learning. Examining the findings of these studies in relation to Piaget's (1965; Inhelder and Piaget, 1958) findings, one notices agreement. This agreement is reflected on, as Friedman (1977, p. 353) indicates,"...the change in children's political thinking from concrete, absolutist, restrictive. and authoritarian to complex, philosophic, and social."

Adelson and O'Neil (1966) explored political development trends in 11, 13, 15 and 18 year-olds. Based on a hypothetical community, the youngsters were interviewed on various political topics and concepts. Political topics included political authority of the community, the reciprocal obligations of citizens and states, conception of law and justice. Concepts such as "government", "community", and "society" were also dealt with in the study. These researchers found political developmental trends as their conclusion indicates.

> Younger children, particularly those below 15...conceptualize government in terms of specific and tangible services ...younger adolescents are usually insensitive to individual liberties, and opt for authoritarian solutions to political problems--at the same time, they are unable to achieve a differentiated view of the social order, and thus cannot grasp the legitimate claims of the community upon the citizen. (p. 295)

Adelson et al. (1969) studied the development of the idea of law among 11, 13, 15 and 18 year-olds. Adelson and his colleagues' findings reveal that younger adolescents (11, 13 year olds) tend to regard law in absolutistic terms, and that laws are made by adults as authority and they cannot be changed. However, later in adolescence the youngsters acquire a different view of law. The researchers think that a significant change occurs between 13 and 15 years.

> Level of discourse shifts from concrete to abstract; a restrictive emphasis is replaced by a stress on the positive aims of law: a conception of amendment is increasingly present in the later years, as is an emphasis on the intrapsychic effects of law. (p. 327)

Tapp and Levine (1970) were concerned with the middle school preadolescents' development of legal rule systems. The authors found changing perceptions of concepts such as authority figures, rules and punishment. Such changes in the perception of rule cor-

responded with the children's age levels, which reflected a developmental trend (Friedman, 1977, p. 353).

Connell (1971) studied Australian children's political beliefs, attitudes and values. Using children from 5 to 16 years of age, Connell investigated the children's developmental perception and attitudes toward their community (the beginning of politics) political figures, political order--the idea of political hierarchy, and party choice and ideology.

Connell's findings show that the children's perception and attitudes toward the five political orientations vary according to age levels. The findings further suggest that at the age of 5 (up to 6) the child's social experience is limited to the immediate environment and the family. As the child cognitively matures, at the age of 7, his mastery of the political world expands. At this stage he is familiar with important political figures such as the Queen, Prime Minister, and the leader of the opposition party.

Connell emphasizes that a child's change in political orientations--from his relationship with his family to his recognition of the important political figures--is gradual. The gradual change in political orientations appears to be more rapid around the ages of 10 and 11. To this effect, however, Connell believes that "...we may speak of the last years of primary school as the period of construction of the political order," (p. 38) or recognition of, for example, political hierarchy in the govern-

ment and the political parties.

The developmental process "from the 5 year old's...collection of bits about important people, to the 15 year old's knowledge of an intricately organized political world" (p. 38) that Connell found in his casual interviews with the children was explained in terms of Piaget's developmental theory. Connell (p. 231) concluded that his subjects fell into four stages in the development of political belief (which correspond with Piaget's stages of intellectual development.)

Interpretations		Stances		
Stage	Characteristics	Stage		Characteristics
1. Intuitive thinking	Confusion of political and non-political material; wild leaps in narrative and argument; fantasy	1. Politics and problematic		Most judgments ad hoc, unqualified, not consistant. A few stable attitudes formed under adult instruction
2. Primitive realism	Disappearance of fantasy; identification of a distinct political world at a remove from the self; appearance of task pool.			
3. Construction of political order	Division of task pool; expansion of concrete detail about politics; perception of the multiple relationships among political actors.	2. politics problematic	(i) isolated stances	(a) Position taken on issues; preferences expressed ↓ (b) Alternative actions considered and sometimes undertaken.
4. Ideological thinking	Use of abstract terms in political argument; conceptions of societies and politics as a whole		(ii) interconnected stances	
		ideologies		

Stages in the development of political belief.

RESEARCH ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ATTITUDES

The Family

As indicated in the theoretical background section, the family plays an important role in political socialization. The family unit, particularly the parents, are involved in the socialization of political perception, attitudes, and values in three ways: they transmit political attitudes and knowledge; they present examples to be imitated by their children; they provide political experience which later children can generalize to political objects.

The influence of the family in political socialization, the development of political attitudes, was studied by Hess and Torney (1967). Using grade two to eight children, Hess and Torney explored attitudinal similarities among siblings and the children's perception of family power structure in relation to certain political variables.

The researchers' findings revealed that "similarities among children in the same family are confined to partisanship and related attitudes" (P. 98) such as voting behavior. The family enforces support for consensually held political attitudes rather than to inculcate idiosyncratic political attitudes.

On the basis of two major dimensions which order relationships in the family; attachment or support, and power and control, a factor analysis of correlation between the scale ratings of family and non-family figures (the President and the policeman) was performed. The authors report that

> An affect or attachment appeared clearly for ratings of the father...similar item groupings appeared in the correlation of scales for the President and the policeman. The child apparently learns to judge family members along these two dimensions

> of relationship into perception of his relationships with figures of the larger political system (p. 99).

Hess and Torney's data further indicate that a child who has a strong father in the family tends to be more attached to institutions and figures (the president and the policeman) of political systems than a child whose father is weak. Also, a child who perceives his father as powerful tends to be more informed and interested in political matters, has a sense of political efficacy, participates in political discussion and activities, and has a concern for political issues. This is not true for a child whose family is dominated by the mother.

Examining grade two children in relation to their perception and attitudes toward political figures and institutions, Hess and Torney noted that these children had already acquired the basic political orientations such as attachment to the President and the policeman, and loyalty to the nation and government. The authors concluded that the children had acquired these basic political attitudes from their parents.

Almond and Verba (1965) studied adults' participation in political activities in relation to participation in family decision-making. They found that citizens who recalled having participated in family decision-making appeared to be more active in politics than those who remembered being passive in the family's decision-making process.

In the most comprehensive study, Jennings and Niemi (1974) investigated high school seniors' partisan preferences. The data showed that the high school seniors basically shared their parents' partisan preferences. This conclusion is in agreement with earlier findings

obtained by Campbell, et al. (1954) using high school students. McClosky and Dahlgren (1959) used high school students, and university students were the subjects for Flacks (1960).

In sum, these major studies, especially those done by Hess and Torney; Jennings and Niemi and others, summarized by Hyman (already referred to in the theoretical background section) suggest that the family unit, especially the parents, exert influence on their children's specific political orientations. These orientations include the acquisition of basic political loyalties and respect for constituted authority, party loyalty of the parents, and political interest and participation.

The School

Hess and Torney, quoted earlier, claim that "the school plays the largest part in teaching attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system." This claim, in fact, is supported by other researchers of political socializations such as Patrick (1977); Dawson and Prewitt (1969); and Hirsch, 1971. According to Hirsch (1971, p. 7), as far as political socialization is concerned,

> The school operates as both a manifest and a latent form of transmission. It is manifest when it socializes directly through classroom instruction, class rituals, and ceremonies, such as pledging allegiance to the flag, singing patriotic songs and celebrating patriotic holidays. It is latent when it socializes role behavior within the school structure which may be transferred to other behavior outside the school.

On the basis of the above quotation, research or the impact of school on political socialization can be organized in five categories (Weissberg, 1974, pp. 153-166, and Beck, 1977, p. 128) or contexts in which children acquire political orientations. The development of

democratic political attitudes is dealt with under these five categories: explicit transmission of political orientation; the teacher's contribution as individuals; extracurricular activities; peer group environment in the school; and the classroom and school authority structure.

Explicit Transmission of Political Orientation

Langton and Jennings (1968) studied the effect of a traditional civic course which emphasized history and the more politically oriented "Problems of American Democracy" course on high school children. The former was more or less descriptive while the latter dealt with controversial issues aimed at helping children to develop democratic political attitudes, some of which were interest in politics, political efficacy, political participation, and support for civic tolerance.

The data collected on the basis of national high school students in the United States showed that the new "Problem of American Democracy" course did not attain the objectives intended--the acquisition of the above listed democratic attitudes. Nor did the history course have an impact on the students' democratic attitudes.

On the other hand, surprisingly, the civic course had an impact on the black students. Analyzing the data from black students, Langton and Jennings noted that these students tended to increase their political knowledge, their sense of political efficacy and support for civic tolerance. However, their political cynicism remained unchanged regardless of the number of civic courses taken.

The authors attempted to explain the negative effect of the civic course on the white children and the positive effect on the black children in terms of "redundancy theory". Most of the white children came from middle class families while a large number of black children came from lower class families. Langton and Jennings suggest that the information presented in civic courses appeared to be redundant for the white children. The researchers think that middle class fathers and mothers who are supposed to be knowledgeable about politics, talk about politics with their children. These parents become important sources of political information. This is also confirmed by Hess' and Torney's study (1967). As Weissburg (1974, p. 162) comments

> ...by the time most white students reach eleventh-or twelfth-grade civics, they have had sufficient contact with (political) material to make a second version ineffectual in producing change. (brackets mine).

However, for the black children the teacher, or civic education, served as an important source of political learning. The black students acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes essentially takes place during civic instructions in the classroom. Hirsch's (1971) study on the black children's political socialization reveals the same phenomenon.

Torney (1976) explored the development of democratic political attitudes among 10, 14, and 17 year old children in ten different countries (U.S.A., England, Israel, Italy, F.R. Germany, The Netherlands, Finland, New Zealand, Ireland, Sweden, Iran). Torney's famous study titled Civic Education in Ten Countries, was concerned with the measurement of the children's political attitudes and values (affective domain).

The researcher examined civic education programs or documents from the ten countries. The content analysis of the cognitive domain in every country appeared to stress the teaching of knowledge about the structure of national government and its function. The content analysis of the affective domain showed that there was a common core of basic values emphasized in all ten countries. Oppenheim and Torney (1974, p. 17)[4] state that

> This common core consisted of the political ideology of democracy (equality and civil liberties, tolerance of diversity, majority rule, and non-violent conflict resolutions) and citizenship values (such as informed participation), being law-abiding, interest in welfare of fellow citizens, love of country.

On the basis of the two aspects of democratic political values--political ideology of democracy and citizenship values--Oppenheim and Torney developed attitudinal scales to explore the 10, 14, and 17 year olds' attitudes toward these values. Torney's (1976) study which used these attitudinal scales reveals that the majority of children tended to indicate considerable support for democratic political values. However, Torney has also observed that children in any country failed to excel on all measured outcomes of civic education (p. 329).

Zellman and Sears (1971) studied the development of children's support for one of the fundamental democratic values, the right of free speech (Weissburg, 1974, p. 122). Exploring the development of this democratic value among nine through fourteen year old Sacramento, California,children, Zellman and Sears found that 60 percent of their

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4 Oppenheim, A. N. and Torney, J. The Measurement of Children's Civic Attitudes in Different Nations. John Wiley and Sons, 1974. The attitudinal scales discussed in the instrumentation section are reported in this monograph.

subjects fully supported the right of free speech, 15 percent did not believe in free speech, while 25 percent responded with "don't know."

At the most general level, Zellman's and Sear's study indicates that young children tend to show willingness to extend the right of free speech to supporters of unpopular causes. Seven of ten Sacremento, California,children agreed with the statement that "People who hate our way of life should still have a chance to talk and be heard." However, when the principle of freedom of speech was applied to specific persons or events, most children did not support this principle. For example, from 50 to 60 percent of Zellman's and Sear's subjects expressed intolerance to statements or questions such as "Should a Communist be allowed to make a speech in this city saying that Communism is good?" "Should this man who wants to help the Vietcong be able to buy time on television to make a speech?" "Should the police give the head of the American Nazi Party permission to have a meeting on a street corner?" (Ibid., p. 125)

This inconsistency between support for democratic abstractions and the application of the principles - freedom of speech, equality, and tolerance of diversity to specific persons or events was also found in the Education Commission of the States Survey in the United States (1970 and 1973). The findings of this survey as reviewed by Patrick (1977, p. 201) reveal that only 25 percent of 13 year olds thought that they would allow the expression of atheistic or agnostic beliefs on television. Less than half of the 17 year old respondents indicated tolerance to the public expression of these unorthodox beliefs and ideas on the television as freedom of speech. Thirty-eight

percent of the 17 year old students opposed or were undecided about allowing an atheist to hold public office. Only 55 percent of the 15 year olds thought any person should be allowed to express his feelings or ideas about the governor's or president's performance. The sample in this study tended to endorse general statements about the rights of minority groups, but at the same time they tended to reject the extension of this principle to specific persons or situations.

The last two studies reviewed were not directly concerned with determining the effectiveness of civic or political education. But as Patrick (1977, p. 201) says, "Teaching democratic political attitudes is supposed to be an important goal of traditional political educators." This implies that the schools in general and political education in particular is expected to exert influence on the development of democratic political attitudes in children. This is particularly important in the western democratic countries such as the U.S.A., Canada, Great Britain, and West Germany (Torney, 1976). These two studies were indirectly assessing the influence of the school or political education in the children's development of democratic political attitudes such as freedom of speech, equality, and tolerance of diversity (of political ideas, beliefs, and values).

The four major studies reviewed and others summarized by Weissberg (1974) and Patrick (1977) indicate that the role of political education in influencing democratic political attitudes is not encouraging. Some researchers (Langton and Jennings, 1968), have formulated the redundancy hypothesis to explain the differential impact of civic or poli-

tical education on black and white students. Other researchers (Sexton, 1968; Guskin and Guskin, 1970; Boocock, 1972; and Patrick, 1977) account for the failure of civic or political education in terms of inconsistency between the goals of political education and what is actually taught in the classroom and the climate of the classrooms and the schools.

In American schools, for example, civic instruction emphasize conformity to authorities and obedience to law and order. This emphasis is contrary to what civic education programs and political educators proclaim. As a result of this emphasis American adolescents tend to acquire anti-democratic attitudes such as conformity, docility, dependence, and unquestioning obedience (Guskin and Guskin, 1970; Patrick, 1977).

Some sociologists have described the authority structure of American schools as bureaucratic (Boocock, 1972). Patrick (1977, p. 205) describes this notion as follows:

> The school...has a division of labor according to functions, strict definition of status and roles according to accepted rules, and hierarchical, pyramidal pattern of authority based on strict definition of accepted rules.

Again this pattern of authority structure in the schools tends to emphasize obedience to the rules as opposed to participation in the formulation and enforcement of such rules and also critically examines them in terms of the need and purpose of such rules (Guskin and Guskin, 1970).

The Teachers' Contribution as Individuals

In their exploration of political attitudes of children in grades

two through eight, Hess and Torney (1967) compared teacher's democratic political attitudes, such as sense of political efficacy, and voting behavior, with those of grade eight children. The authors found attitudinal similarity between teachers and their grade eight students. Hess and Torney used the identification and imitation model discussed in the theoretical background section to explain this similarity. They argue that indirectly through the process of identification and imitation (in this case the teachers become models for identification and imitation) teachers transmit their own values and attitudes.

Extracurricular Activities

In most school systems, extracurricular activities form an integral part of school life. For example, in American and Canadian schools, children are involved in various extracurricular activities or clubs such as football, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and others.

These clubs provide opportunities for the children to learn democratic principles or values and attitudes. The acquisition of democratic political attitudes takes place in these clubs or organizations because

> ...such clubs usually have elected officers, decision-making functions, bargaining and compromise, and rule of fair play, they thus provide realistic introduction to democratic politics. (Weisberg, 1974, p. 166)

Lewis (1962) explored the impact of extracurricular activities on Michigan high school students' political learning. Lewis found that students who participated in extracurricular activities were more politically efficacious, they were less cynical about politics, and

were more interested in politics than students who were not involved in student clubs or organizations. However, the researcher could not conclude that it was the activities in the clubs that influenced the participants' political attitudes.

Ziblatt (1965) conducted another study using high school students who participated in school extracurricular activities. Ziblatt found no direct relationship between extracurricular activities and the students' democratic political attitudes such as a sense of efficacy, political interest and tolerance of diversity. In their study, Hess and Torney (1967) also did not find direct connection between school club activities and elementary school children's political attitudes.

Peer Group Environment in the School

The term 'peer group' as described earlier, denotes both age-homogenous (the peer group subculture) in the general sense and age-homogenous (friendship groups) in a particular sense (Beck, 1977, p. 131). The peers in the school setting may come from both working class and middle class families whose socio-economic and political backgrounds appear to be different. Researchers and educators (Weissberg, 1974, p. 164) believe that the social mixture of the school climate appears favourable for political learning. This climate is particularly important among preadolescents or high school students (Beck, 1977, p. 132).

Langton (1967) conducted a study in the West Indies - Jamaica, to determine friendship peer groups' influence on political learning. Using high school students from working class and middle class fami-

ilies, Langton found that working class children with predominantly middle class friends were socialized into middle class political views or attitudes such as support of personal civil liberty, civic tolerance, and voting behavior.

Furthermore, in his attempt to assess the influence of the wider peer culture on political socialization, Langton divided Jamaican schools into two categories. One category of schools was made up of students from working class families (homogeneous category), and the second category consisted of a social heterogeneous student body. According to Beck's (1973, pp. 132-133) review of this study, it was found that "The former were found to reinforce working class (political) norms, while the latter resocialized working class youths into middle class political views (brackets mine). Johnson's study in 1972 also supports Langton's findings.

Studies on the peer group influence on political socialization are limited. Researchers claim that peer groups' influence in political learning ranks second (the first being the family), (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Jennings and Niemi, 1974; and Langton, 1967). According to Beck's (1977) reviews, such claims are based on scattered pieces of empirical evidence. Beck's summary of studies on agental influence on political socialization shows that Langton's study is the only comprehensive study available to date.

Classroom and School Authority Structure

Sociologist (Boocock, 1972), researchers, and educators are becoming increasingly interested in the context of civic instructions.

They are concerned with the climate in which civic courses are taught. They argued that the contemporary innovative political education programs have paid little attention to the instructional context. This situation, as Patrick (1977, pp. 216-217) observes, attributes

> ...to severe inconsistencies between formal learning achieved through academic experiences and informal learning associated with the hidden curriculum. These inconsistencies can lead to the blunting or subversion of formal learning and to negative unintended outcomes.

The context referred to here consists of "closed" and "open" educational climates (Ibid., 1977, p. 217). In the "closed" climate classroom, the teacher dominates the classroom in a dictatorial or authoritarian manner. In this situation the teacher does not allow freedom of expression among students. This climate appears to be inappropriate for civic instructions which attempt to provide opportunity for the children's development of democratic attitudes or values (Biber and Minnchin, 1970). In "open" climate classroom teachers and students, for example, questions and analytically examine controversial socio-political issues or orthodox political traditions, and make judgement on the basis of evidence gathered. This classroom climate is believed to be consistent with the objectives of political education. What is important in this type of context is that children are encouraged to express their own ideas or opinions on political issues or problems. Researchers (Weissberg, 1974, Patrick, 1977) regard "open" classroom or school climate as democratic since both the teacher and the children are actively engaged in political learning processes. It is believed "...that democratically disposed citi-

zens can only develop in democratically-oriented schools" (Weissberg, 1974, p. 163).

Researchers believe that the climate of the classroom can be manipulated to influence the development of political attitudes. This belief is based on several studies. Almond and Verba's (1963) cross-national study involved adult respondents. The researchers were exploring adults' political attitudes. This study revealed that respondents who remembered to be in an "open" climate classroom and participated in controversial discussions of political issues appeared to have a higher sense of political efficacy or competence, while those who did not remember to have such an atmosphere in their classrooms had a lower sense of political competence.

Another study was done by Lee Ehman (1969) in Detroit. Using high school students as respondents, Ehman found a positive relationship between the climate of the classroom, instruction about issues and the development of specific political attitudes. Civic instruction dealing with controversial issues in a "closed" classroom climate appeared to contribute to higher political cynicism, low sense of citizenship, sense of political efficacy, and a desire to participate in politics. However, the "open" climate classroom tended to have a positive impact on the children's democratic political attitudes. Glidewell (1966) also studied the relationship between classroom climate and the children's political learning. As Patrick (1977, pp. 218-219 indicates, Glidewell found that

> ...when teachers share decision-making power in classrooms with students the effect has been to: (1) stimulate more pupil-to-pupil interactions,...(2) induce a wider dispersion and flexibility of peer social power as manifested by a greater tolerance for divergence of opinions in the initial phases of decision-making.

In summary, the impact of schools on political socialization or on the development of democratic political attitudes appears to be not very encouraging. The major studies reviewed here and others summarized by Weissburg (1974, p. 157) and Patrick (1977, pp. 194-218) present data which are not conclusive. As Weissburg sums up "It is... quite clear that the schools do not provide a highly efficient tool for manipulating the political orientations of preadults" (p. 167). Weissburg further observes that research has not exhausted all the pedagogical alternatives and the conditions under which political socialization can take place. He implies that more research is needed to determine conducive conditions and political material for political socialization.

The Alberta Social Studies Program

The major goal of the Alberta Social Studies program is value clarification (Experiences in Decision-Making, 1971; Responding to Change, 1971 and 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum Interim Edition.) The Alberta Social Studies program assumes that the schools must play an important role in helping students "in their quest for a clear, consistent and defensible system of values" (Experiences in Making Decisions, 1971, p. 9). This program provides children opportunities to examine critically the personal and societal values which influence their lives.

The process of value clarification involves the examination of real value issues or social problems of an economic, political and cultural nature. What appears important in the process of value clarification is that children acquire certain desirable attitudes toward the value issues and social issues or problems.

The development of democratic political attitudes appears to be one of the important concerns of the Alberta Social Studies Program. In a democratic society like Canada, a citizen is expected to participate actively in political affairs of his community. The individual's effective political participation depends on his positive attitudes toward democratic values such as equality, tolerance of diversity, freedom of speech, majority rule, loyalty, concern for fellow citizens, willingness to serve the community, and political efficacy. The development of these positive democratic political attitudes are emphasized, for example, in Responding to Change, 1971.

The goals and objectives of Social Studies in Alberta are further articulated in the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum Interim Edition 1-12. The new edition of social studies emphasizes citizenship education "in which students learn to explore and, where possible, to resolve, social issues that are of public and personal concern" (p. 5). In the process of exploring and resolving issues, children acquire basic knowledge and ideas (knowledge objective) about such issues, develop sensitivity to value positions of their own as well as those of others (value or affective objective) and also develop inquiry and participatory skills (skill objective). In other

words, the new curriculum, education for citizenship, provides children with an opportunity for the development of human competence which enables them to play active roles in democratic processes. A citizen's effective participation in democratic processes or political activities in his community, as indicated earlier, depends on his positive attitude toward the democratic processes and values.

In sum, the Alberta Social Studies as citizenship education, equips children with human competence, to participate effectively in democratic processes or community affairs.

SUMMARY

Piaget's model of development has been reviewed. This model is used to interpret the data of this study. A review of the application of Piaget's model has been included in this chapter to serve as part of the background of this study. Studies on the development of democratic political attitudes have been discussed in order to provide a general picture of what is known about the children's development of democratic political attitudes.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In order to investigate the problem raised in this study, the following components of the design of the study were employed.

THE SAMPLE

The St. Albert Public School Board granted permission that enabled all children in kindergarten, grades one, two, three, four, six, eight, ten and twelve to be involved in this study. This school system has two kindergarten classes, four Elementary schools, one Junior High and one High school. The children in this school system mainly come from middle class Catholic families. A total number of 772 subjects[5] were randomly selected for this study.

Since part of this study was to interview a small number of children in kindergarten, grades one and two, 39 subjects were randomly selected from these grade levels. Because of administrative complexity, 53 subjects were randomly selected from grade twelve students. Grade four children in the Father Jan school did not participate in the main study because they were involved in the pilot study. The distribution of the subjects by school and grade is shown in Table 1.

COLLECTION OF DATA

Method of Data Collection

This study employed two types of research techniques: the interview method and the paper-and-pencil survey. The interview techniques

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[5]Subjects and children are terms used interchangeably.

was used for kindergarten and grades one and two subjects. Grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve subjects completed Oppenheim's and Torney's (1974) attitudinal questionnaires.

The interview technique was used to explore the children's perception of the government, city council, political authorities such as the Prime Minister, the Queen, Premier, Judge, policeman and the mayor; the national symbols such as the flag and the national anthem. These topics have been adapted from Hess' and Torney's (1967) and Connell's (1971) interview schedules. The interviews were not related directly to the questionnaire survey. The exploration of the children's perception of the political objects was included in this study on the basis of the assumption that political learning acquired in early childhood forms the basis on which further political development takes place. There is an agreement among many scholars

> ...that early learning involving broad attachments, loyalties, and identifications is particularly enduring though not immune to change. This early political socialization acts as a filter for considerable subsequent learning (Weissberg, 1974, p. 30).

It is believed that the children's initial political orientations are acquired through conspicuous political objects mentioned above. The relationship between the interview and the questionnaire surveys should be seen in this context.

One of the underlying assumptions of this study is that the child plays an active rather than a passive role in the political learning process. The child's biological characteristics or psychic makeup influence the child's political learning (Chapter 1, pp. 3-6). The inter-

views in this study attempted to explore the child's own conception of political objects mentioned above.

Table 1

Distribution of Children by School and Grade

School	K	I	11	IV	VI	VIII	X	XII	Total
Albert Lacombe	-	-	-	52	66	-	-	-	118
Bertha Kennedy	-	4	4	24	30	-	-	-	62
Father Jan	6	5	3	-	22	-	-	-	36
Parish Kindergarten	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
St. Albert High School	-	-	-	-	-	-	108	53	161
Vital Grandin	-	4	4	103	91	-	-	-	202
Vincent Maloney	-	-	-	-	-	184	-	-	184
Total	15	13	11	179	209	184	108	53	772

The proponents (Hess and Torney, 1967; Stacey, 1978; Piaget, 1973; Connell, 1971) of the child's own conception of reality, or political objects for that matter, recognize other agencies' influence (family, school, peer group) on the child's political learning. However, they de-emphasize the notion of tabula rasa which stresses the child merely copying or imitating adult behavior. Piaget's (1973) studies on the child's conception of the world reveal that the child's contents of thought are of two categories: one is due to adult influence and the other to the child's original reactions (p. 37). Stressing the import-

ance of the later category, Piaget argues that the child is to be regarded

> ...not as a being of pure imitation, but as an organism which assimilates things to itself, selects and digests them according to its own structure. In this way even what is influenced by the adult may still be original (p.40).

Piaget's (1973, p. 35) studies also show that the child's thought has certain characteristics which distinguish it from that of the adults'. On the basis of his observations, Piaget thinks that the child's thought has the following characteristics:

> ...the child's though has little systematization, little coherence, is not in general deductive, is for the most part untroubled by the need of avoiding contradiction, juxtaposes statements rather than synthesizes them and accepts syncretic schemes without feeling the need to analyze.

The interviews in this study were intended to elicit the child's thought or perception of the political objects indicated earlier.

The role of the interviewer was to create an atmosphere which would stimulate the child's political thought. The interviewer felt it necessary that the nature and direction of the interview be dictated by the condition of the child. What became apparent and important in these interviews was the need to stimulate and encourage the child to talk.

On the basis of Connell's (1971) experience in interviewing infants or young children, the interviews were conducted in a form of open-ended questions-and-answer sessions. In order for the interviews to reveal political attitude formation in the child, Connell's (1971, p. 2) experience indicates that

> ...two things were necessary to give each child plenty of freedom to elaborate his thought on a topic, to ramble on as he wished, and thus show his own style of thought and the connec-

tion he made between different matters, and the exact opposite, to probe closely, almost to cross examine, on particular points.

To enable the subject to be free to express his or her thoughts in response to questions posed by the interviewer, it was important to conduct an unstructured and focused interview (Stacey, 1978, pp. 75, 77). The interviewer framed open-ended questions based on the topics mentioned above. The subjects were encouraged to be free to reply to such questions in any way they wished.

Goode and Hatt (1952) regard the interview as a process of social interaction. A social relationship emerges out of this social situation. The success of an interview depends largely on the relationship established by the interviewer between himself and the subject. It was desirable to maintain a friendly, relaxed, informal, interested and non-evaluative atmosphere throughout the interview. This atmosphere was realized by the following procedures. The interviewer went to the classroom to meet each subject. This meeting was followed by a friendly greeting and a conversation on matters of personal interest. As the interviewer and the subject moved to the interview room, such conversation was about a birthday party, movies, stories told or read by the subject's mom and what the subject did the previous day. In some situations helping the subject tie his or her shoe laces was also effective in establishing a friendly atmosphere.

During the first two or three minutes the interviewer explained to the subject the purpose of the interview. In some cases this was preceded by the continuation of the friendly and informal conversation

or comments on matters of personal interest initiated after the friendly greeting. In explaining the purpose of the interview to the subject it was stressed that the interview was not a test and that there were no right or wrong answers. The interviewer intended to talk about the things the subject already knew. If the subject asked about the tape recorder, he or she was told that the interviewer wanted the conversation or discussion recorded in order to enable him to remember all the questions and answers. Recording was easier and it took less time than writing everything down. Also at some point if the child wanted to listen to what was recorded the interviewer played the tape. Most subjects enjoyed listening to their own voices.

In the course of the interview the open-ended questions were asked in simple language, using the vocabulary familiar to the subjects. The nature of the interview dictated that each subject was asked a different set of questions but such questions were intended to elicit responses that provided the same meaning or perception of the general themes under investigation. Questions were short and asked only after the subject had indicated that he or she had enough time to respond to the previous question. The interviewer, however, treated the responses in a non-judgmental, accepting manner. On the other hand the interviewer accepted the responses in a manner which encouraged the subject to tell more about what was asked or probed on a particular point raised by the subject. The 'yes' and 'no' or 'I don't know' answers were not accepted as final answers. For example, the question "What does the government mean?" attracted many 'no' or 'I don't know' re-

sponses. In order to help the subject say something about it, the question was reframed, such as "Siena, could you tell me anything you know about the government?" In most cases the subject had something to talk about the government. Furthermore, the interview was accompanied by pictures intended to stimulate the subject's thoughts and memory. Pictures of the Prime Minister, the Queen, and leaders of the opposition parties, Clark and Broadbent, were effective in eliciting responses from the subjects.

The duration of the interviews ranged from about twenty to thirty-five minutes. For the kindergarten subjects, timing for the interviews was very important. After interviewing the first three subjects, it was apparent that the interviews had to be made shorter. Shortening the interview prevented a situation in which the subjects would become bored with the interview and thus be less free and spontaneous in their responses. The time factor was experienced with two younger subjects. The interview with one subject lasted for about ten minutes, after which the subject requested to go back to the classroom. The other subject was interviewed for less than fifteen minutes and she wanted to leave. The interviewer had some difficulty with one subject who did not like to respond to any of the questions. The initial attempt to establish a friendly and relaxed relationship between the interviewer and the subject failed to elicit any response from her. After five minutes of trying to make her feel relaxed and free to respond to the questions in any way she liked, she did not give any response and was escorted back to the classroom.

All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcribing younger subjects' responses presents some problems (Connell, 1971; Hess and Torney, 1967). The subjects tended to ramble in their response to open-ended questions. In other words, there was a common tendency among the subjects to present irrelevant comments in the responses. In some cases, the responses that were provided were not very clear. This is because children at this stage of intellectual development are limited in their spoken language. In most cases care was taken to edit the subjects' responses but their meaning or perceptual tendency was retained. On the other hand, a considerable number of subjects, particularly those in grade two, provided clear responses and thus editing was unnecessary.

The questionnaire survey, in which Oppenheim's and Torney's (1974) attitudinal instruments were administered, is described under the instrumentation section.

INSTRUMENTATION

Introduction

The attitudinal instruments which appear in Appendix A were administered to grades 4,6,8,10 and 12 subjects. These instruments were developed by Oppenheim and Torney (1974; Torney, 1976). They are intended to explore the children's development of democratic values or attitudes. On the basis of factor analysis, Oppenheim's and Torney's attitudinal scales fall into the following factors: (1) Anti-authoritarianism, (2) Support for civil liberties, (3) Sense of political efficacy, (4) Support for women's rights, (5) Support for equal-

ity, (6) Percepts of good citizenship. Other items which were used along with the attitudinal scales were in two groups; (7) Concrete/ abstract percepts and (8) Peer group decision by voting (Torney, 1976, pp. 168-172). Factors 1, 2, 5, 6, and other items, 7, 8, were used in this study. Initially these instruments were used by the authors to investigage ten, fourteen and seventeen year olds democratic values or attitudes in ten nations (U.S.A., Italy, Iran, England, F.R. Germany, Finland, The Netherlands, and New Zealand). Comparisons were made between the subject's performance on the cognitive and affective items and also between countries.

Attitudinal Scales

The attitudinal scales fall into two parts: democratic citizenship values and percepts of good citizenship.

Democratic Citizenship Values: Attitude Statements

A total of eighteen items explored the children's development of attitudes towards democratic values. These democratic values include anti-authoritarian values, civil liberties and principles of equality.

Percepts of Good Citizenship

There were eleven items intended to explore the children's own perception of good citizenship.

Other Items

Concrete Versus Abstract Percepts

There were four open-ended questions. The child's choice of answers would indicate whether he thought in concrete or abstract terms. In other words, these questions provided the child with an

opportunity to respond to the questions in terms of personalized egocentric reasoning or sociocentric reasoning. It was intended to explore the children's modes of reasoning. A relationship between the children's modes of reasoning and their responses to the six democratic values were examined.

Peer Group Decisions

Three hypothetical situations were presented to the subjects in which certain issues or problems must be resolved by a peer group. These questions are designed to find out what procedure the child indicates to be followed by the peer group in order to resolve the problems or issues. It was an investigation of the children's notion of voting.

Reliability

The process of designing these instruments was extensive as reported by the authors (Oppenheim and Torney, 1974). Two important stages were involved in the development of these scales: the pilot study and the dry run. Oppenheim and Torney (1974) have reported the reliability of their instruments (Torney, 1976, p. 191). The reliability of the items relevant to this study are reproduced in Table 2. Elsewhere, Torney (1976) reports that the reliability of these instruments is adequate for the purposes intended. The author states:

> The four years of pilot work and factor analysis of items in the pilot instrument paid off in producing civic attitude scales with a reasonable degree of internal consistency. In general, the reliabilities are slightly lower for the 10 year-olds than of the older students (as one might expect).

Table 2

SUMMARY OF RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS - AFFECTIVE SCALES

	Population I		Population II		Population IV		No. Items
	Range	Median	Range	Median	Range	Median	
Anti-Authoritarian Attitude Scale	.640-.661	.647	.547-.739	.677	.525-741	.638	10
Tolerance & Support for Civil Liberties - Attitude Sc.	.451-.620	.576	.524-.658	.585	.539-.563	.649	9
Belief in Value or Criticism of Government-Atti. Sc.	.400-.531	.482	.613-.704	.687	.581-.875	.719	5
Support for Equality for all Social Groups	.735-.827	.789	.638-.829	.785	.722-.857	.774	12
Tendency to Avoid Perceiving Adult Conflict-Choice	.382-.688	.478	.438-.679	.579	.404-.687	.534	9
Active Perception of Citizenship	.474-.637	.539	.502-.724	.567	.483-.692	.602	6
Non-Political Perception of Citizenship	.553-.726	.566	.641-.833	.718	.705-.777	.727	6
	4 countries		9 countries		8 countries		

Method of Data Collection

The attitudinal scales were administered to all subjects by the researcher in December, 1979, February and March, 1980. Grades 4 and 6 teachers volunteered to assist in this task because experience in the pilot study indicated that grades 4 and 6 children needed help in reading and understanding some of the items. The classroom teachers were of great help in explaining the meaning of the items, words that appeared to be difficult for the subjects, and how to answer the questions on the computer sheets. Grades 8, 10 and 12 subjects did not need this type of help. Initial modification of these instruments is discussed in the Pilot Study section.

All answers were recorded on the computer answer sheets (General Purpose). The responses were also scored by the computer providing the percentages for each grade level.

THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study for the questionnaire survey was conducted in June, 1979, prior to the main study, in two schools, one in the Edmonton Public School system and the other in the St. Albert Public School system. The purposes of the pilot study were to:

(a) familiarize procedures for administering the questionnaire. This procedure was particularly important for the researcher.

(b) determine whether the children understood and were able to answer the questions.

(c) see if the wording and terminology of the questions were clearly understood by children who were at different grades or age levels.

(d) determine the time required to answer such questions.

Two schools were available for the pilot study, one school in the Edmonton Public School system and the other in the St. Albert Public School System. Twenty-five children (13 grade six, 7 grade seven, and 5 grade nine) from an Edmonton school volunteered to complete the attitudinal questionnaires at lunch break. Twenty-two grade four children from a St. Albert school also completed the questionaires. Special attention was paid to grades four and six to determine their ability to read and understand the questionnaires.

As a result of the pilot study it was found that grades four and six had some difficulty in understanding some of the items. It was noted that in the main study, special attention would be paid to this problem. It was also necessary to change some words.

The researcher found it unnecessary to conduct a pilot study for the interview survey. The nature or type of interview does not necessarily need a pilot study. The amount of time involved in the interviews and the atmosphere in which the interviews progressed were determined by the real experience with subjects in the main study.

SUMMARY

A brief description of the design of the study has been given. The study used interviews and questionnaire surveys in order to obtain the intended data. The sample was drawn on the basis of grade levels. These levels might indicate a developmental trend in the subject's perceptions of political objects and the development of political attitudes or values. The data collection took place in December, 1979,

February and March, 1980.

As a result of the pilot study grades four and six were found to have had some difficulty in understanding some of the items. It was noted that in the main study, special attention would be paid to this problem.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the data collected for each research question. The analysis deals with each research question in numerical order. Each research question has two main components, a brief background to the question and observation. This study was an exploratory investigation into the children's development of democratic political attitudes (grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve) and basic political orientations (kindergarten, grades one and two). There are two types of surveys used in this study, the questionnaire and interview surveys. The data from the questionnaire survey were analyzed in terms of percentages. The percentages of the students' aggregated responses to each of the six factors reflecting the six democratic values (anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, equality of rights and freedoms, good citizenship and voting) were determined. The term percent or percentage is applied in this study in the context stated above. Details of the process in which the percentages of the students' aggregated responses were determined are in Appendices B, C and E. Piaget's developmental theory was used to explain the students' responses.

Research Question One

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the government, city council, political authorities and national symbols?

On the basis of this question, kindergarten, grades one and two

children were interviewed to determine their perceptions of political objects. As stated in the previous chapter, one of the guiding principles in the interviews was to encourage each child to talk freely about the political objects under investigation. It became important that open-ended questions were to be asked in order to elicit free talk that would reveal the subject's knowledge and attitudes toward the political objects. The open-ended questions enabled the subject to answer them in any way or in any direction he wished. This type of question also helped the child to feel comfortable and confident to talk about an issue or a political object which he thought he knew about. A question "Will you please tell me anything you know about the government?" encouraged the child to display his knowledge and attitudes toward the government.

There were a total of 39 kindergarten, grades one and two children involved in the interviews. Their responses were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. As indicated in the previous chapter, transcribing youngsters' responses presents a problem. This was true particularly among kindergarten and grade one children's responses. In some cases the children's responses were given in unclear or irrelevant statements. It was decided to determine the general meaning of the responses the child was attempting to express. In other words, such responses were edited while retaining their meaning or the trend of perception.

Since question one calls for investigation into the children's perception of various political objects, it was necessary that the

analysis consist of seven parts. That is, question one had seven subsidiary questions.

Extracts from the children's responses were organized into seven topics which were explored in this study: the children's perception of the government, Table 3; children's perception of the Prime Minister, Table 4; children's perception of the Queen, Table 5; children's perception of the judge, Table 6; children's perception of the policeman, Table 7; children's awareness of local political authorities such as the Premier, mayor, and city council, Table 8; children's perception of national symbols, the flag and anthem, Table 9.

These extracts are presented as examples to reflect the character of the children's political consciousness; the youngsters' cognitive style; the children's knowledge about the political world; the children's characteristics of their thoughts; and the children's spoken language in reference to the political world.

Question 1(a)

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two, perceive of the government?

Observation

There were 15 kindergarten, 13 grade one and 11 grade two children interviewed in order to explore their perception of the government. Extracts from the children's responses are presented in Table 3. These extracts appear to suggest certain characteristics of the children's perception of political objects and also the nature of their thoughts.

The children have used the pronoun "He" to refer to the govern-

ment. They tend to perceive the government as a person. This style of perception of reality also reflects the children's stage of mental operation. The kindergarten, grades one and two children (approximately 5, 6 and 7 year olds respectively) tend to perceive things in personal or concrete terms. This would seem to reflect their inability to see things in abstract terms. The government is perceived by these children as a living thing, a male person who makes rules and orders people to do what he wants.

These extracts also suggest that the children view the government in specific functional terms. They describe the government in terms of what it does. But the things which the government does are those which are familiar to the children. The things they see nearly every day in their communities. Responses K, d and g; 1b; and 2c are examples of the things children see happening around their homes or communities.

The extracts in Table 3 have another characteristic. Some of the responses seem to reflect the child's own thinking or perception of the government. It would appear that children at these grade or age levels have the tendency to explain, see, or perceive things simply in terms of their own experience. Their own beliefs or understanding of political objects are taken for granted to be common to everyone. In other words, their thinking or perception of objects around them is egocentric in the sense that everything is centred around them. Extracts Ke and i; 1 a and 2 a, e, f, g suggest that children's perception of the government is of an egocentric nature.

Table 3

Children's Perception of Government

Grade	Statement
K	a. He makes rules
	b. He works for Canada
	c. He makes money for the poor people
	d. He tells the men to clean the streets
	e. He gives children food
	f. He takes care of the whole world
	g. He tells the police to give speeding tickets
	h. He tells the people to do things
	i. He knows about many things
1	a. The government takes food to those who don't have it.
	b. The government builds roads and streets
	c. The government helps people
	d. The government writes laws
	e. He tells people what to do
2	a. The government pays people
	b. He punishes people who do bad things
	c. He sends the police to help people who have been robbed
	d. He tells people about things around the world
	e. He catches bad people and makes sure that people don't get hurt
	f. He takes care of starvation
	g. He takes care of homes
	h. He keeps people from doing bad things

The children interviewed perceived the government as a person who makes the rules or laws and also makes sure that such laws are obeyed (Ka and 1d), and that punishment was inevitable for those who do bad things, or break the rules (Kg; 2 b,e). These children also thought that the government is helpful (Kc, 1c and 2c), kind, protective (2e and h) and concerned about the welfare of the people (Ke and f; 2 f and g). This type of conception of the government became clearer in the child-

ren's perception of the Prime Minister in Table 4. This style of perception seems to imply that the government appears to be of great importance to the children.

Question 1(b)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the Prime Minister?

Observation

A total of 39 children were interviewed to determine their perception of the Prime Minister. Extracts of the children's conception of the Prime Minister appear in Table 4.

Examples of responses in Tables 3 and 4 indicate that the children's perception refers to both the government and the Prime Minister. The children tend to conceptualize the government in terms of personal figures. One of the figures which appeared to be prominent to the children, in this case, was the Prime Minister. Although some children used the terms government and Prime Minister interchangeably, the children's general tendency was to talk about the government and the Prime Minister in isolation, as if they were different entities. In other words, the children showed an inability to relate the two political objects. However, it was clear that the children referred to the Prime Minister as the government.

The responses in Table 4 reveal the children's ideas about the Prime Minister. The are ideas which are based on the children's own experiences. Most of the elements which the children think are attributes of the Prime Minister are irrelevant, for example, from the

Table 4

Children's Perception and Attitudes Toward the Prime Minister

Grade	Statement
K	a. He doesn't want people to get hurt
	b. The Prime Minister makes money and gives it to the poor people
	c. He likes everybody
	d. He likes children, he gives them lots of food
	e. The Prime Minister helps people who are in trouble
	f. He helps people in the whole world
	g. He helps people
	h. He takes care of the sick
	i. He is a nice guy
	j. He doesn't make mistakes
	k. He works hard
1	a. The Prime Minister gives money to the poor
	b. The government gives food to the people who don't have it
	c. The Prime Minister helps people to be kind to one another
	d. The Prime Minister tells people to be good
	e. He makes people happy
	f. The Prime Minister likes people and smiles a lot.
	g. The government takes care of Canada
	h. The Prime Minister works hard
	i. He makes money and gives it to the people
2	a. People voted for Prime Minister Trudeau because they like him
	b. Trudeau was very good
	c. Trudeau is a good Prime Minister
	d. I like his first name
	e. I want him to win
	f. Trudeau helps people
	g. The Prime Minister helps people who get robbed
	h. The government is nice because he pays people
	i. Prime Minister Trudeau gives money to the poor
	j. They like him very much in Canada and the United States
	k. The government keeps people from doing bad things

Table 4

Children's Perception and Attitudes Toward the Prime Minister

Grade	Statement
2 (Cont'd.)	l. The government pays people
	m. He lets people write him letters
	n. The government is a boss but he does not boss people around
	o. He helps people to build roads, houses, stores and bridges
	p. He lowers the price of food
	q. He has written the rules for us so that no body gets hurt
	r. He is the best and smartest citizen
	s. The Government takes care of the world
	t. He takes care of starvation
	u. He takes care of houses for people

adult point of view. However, the children seem to take for granted that their perceived roles of the Prime Minister are common realities. This is a reflection of the children's pattern of egocentric thought. The children's feelings toward the Prime Minister, as expressed in the responses above suggest idiosyncratic attitudes which have little to do with the general way of relating to the Prime Minister.

Another general characteristic of the responses in Table 4 is the children's limited range of information concerning the Prime Minister. The children's information about the Prime Minister as depicted in the responses is simplistic and stereotyped. The Prime Minister is a nice guy, helps people, he likes everybody, he protects people, he is kind and works hard, and he tells people what to do. The qualities which the children attribute to the Prime Minister are not necessarily important for the office of the Prime Minister. It

shows clearly that children are unable to visualize the Prime Minister as an individual who is involved in a reciprocal relationship between himself and the citizens. The inability of children to conceptualize the Prime Minister within a political structure is not because they lack sources of information about him and his office but rather they lack the cognitive equipment to enable them to perceive him in a broad sense or political structure.

The responses in Table 4, and even those in Table 3, further suggest that the children regard the Prime Minister as powerful. Responses like "He makes rules", "He tells the men to clean streets", "He tells the police to give speeding tickets", "the Government is the boss but he does not boss people around", "He lowers the prices" (Table 3, Ka, d, g, h; 1d, e; 2 b,c and Table 4 Kb; 1d, g; 2 k, n, p, q) indicate the children's perception of the Prime Minister as a powerful figure. They tend to idealize the authority of the Prime Minister. Children at these ages have the tendency to admire, respect and obey parents or adults in general. It may be that they feel that they are powerless and helpless. The Prime Minister, whom the children think takes care of Canada and the whole world (Table 4, 1g) may be looked upon by the children as the most powerful figure. This is typical of the youngsters who tend to idealize the authority or power of adults. Such perception or feelings toward the adults appear to be a mechanism children use in dealing with their feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability.

In this study the younger children regard the Prime Minister as a person who knows about many things and has the power to tell the

people about the things he knows (Table 3, Ki; 1e and Table 4, 2r). In the minds of the youngsters it is imperative that the people or citizens listen and obey the Prime Minister. The youngsters appear to be unable to realize a reciprocal relationship between the Prime Minister or government and the citizens. In other words, the youngsters cannot conceive of a relationship which is problematic and that citizens may have opposing views on any issue raised by the government. They are unable to see a relationship between the Prime Minister and the citizens in terms of conflicts.

Some of the responses in Table 4 reveal that the youngsters have a high regard and positive feelings toward the Prime Minister. Responses such as "He likes everybody", "He likes children, he gives them lots of food" (Table 3, Ke, and Table 4, Kc,d,i; 1f; 2 a,b,j) suggest, from the children's point of view, that the Prime Minister is concerned about their welfare. There is an element of emotional attachment to the Prime Minister by the children as an exchange for them being liked and cared for.

These youngsters also feel that the Prime Minister is protective, "He takes care of Canada", "...He makes sure that people don't get hurt", "He doesn't want people to get hurt" (Table 3, 2f, g, h; Table 4, Ka; 1g; 2k,q,u) are responses which indicate that children feel that the Prime Minister is protective of the people or citizens.

Infants are aware of their need for protection. In their experiences with adults, especially parents, the infants observe how their parents protect them in different situations. On the basis of this the

youngsters also imagine the powerful and likable or friendly Prime Minister as protective of his people as well as the children. Furthermore, the young children view the Prime Minister as a benevolent and helpful head of the nation. Some of the responses in Tables 3 and 4 appear to support this conceptualization. The children think that the Prime Minister gives money to the poor people, he helps people who are in trouble, he treats people kindly and also makes them happy, he looks after the sick and prevents starvation among the people (Table 3, K e and f; 2f; Table 4, K e, f, h; 1 c, d, e; 2 f, g, t). Further, the children's conception of a powerful, likable, benevolent, and protective Prime Minister can also mean that they view the Prime Minister as trustworthy.

Grade two children's perception of the Prime Minister was a bit elaborate. In the interviews some children talked about voting and elections in relation to Prime Minister Trudeau. Actually, in January and part of February, Joe Clark was the Prime Minister. Nearly all the children interviewed were not aware that Mr. Trudeau was no longer a Prime Minister. When talking about the Prime Minister, most children made reference to Mr. Trudeau.

Second grade children seemed to have a very vague notion of elections although these interviews were conducted during the federal general election or campaign. Although the media and perhaps the teachers and parents might have been important resources of election information during the election campaign, the children did not show any understanding of the basic notion of voting or elections. However,

some children made positive statements about Mr. Trudeau and wished him to win in the election because he was a good Prime Minister (Table 4, 2 a and e).

In sum, the kindergarten and the first and second grade children perceived the Prime Minister as powerful, likable, benevolent, trustworthy, protective, and having great knowledge. It appears that it is the Prime Minister through whom the children form their initial conception of the government. In other words, the children's initial political relationship with the government is established through the Prime Minister. The children tend to think that the Prime Minister is the government.

Question 1(c)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two, perceive of the Queen?

Observation

Thirty-nine youngsters were interviewed to find out their perception of the Queen. Extracts of the children's responses are in Table 5.

The children's responses in Table 5 generally reveal the egocentric habit of children at these age levels. The youngsters responded according to their immediate point of view. In other words, they were expressing their own immediate thoughts about the Queen. The information they have acquired and their abilities to perceive the Queen as a national symbol in relation to the political structure (government) are very limited. For example, the youngsters have no geographic

Table 5

Children's Perception of the Queen

Grade	Statement
K	a. She is the Queen of Canada b. She is Queen Elizabeth c. She is the Queen of England and the United States d. She helps people e. She gives food to children and grownups
1	a. She is the Qeen of England and Canada b. She looks after Canada c. She makes money and gives it to the poor people in Canada and all over the world
2	a. She is the Queen of Canada b. She goes around the world c. She does some paper work as the Prime Minister does d. She helps us in lots of things

interest in terms of their conception of the role of the Queen (Table 5, K c; 1 c; 2 b). The role of the Queen as perceived by these children is limited and rather exaggerated or even irrelevant.

However, the children tend to have positive feelings toward the Queen as they view her as helpful or benevolent (Table 5, K d, e; 1 c; 2 d). Clearly children have some awareness of the Queen who is not conspicuous in the Canadian scene. But, as the chilren's responses indicate, the role of the Queen, especially in Canada, is little known by these children. On the other hand, the youngsters appear to have positive feelings toward the Queen.

Question 1(d)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of a judge.

Observation

The 30 kindergarten, first and second grade children, were also interviewed on their views about a judge. A judge plays an important role in the compliance system.[6] Extracts of the children's responses indicate that the children seem to have limited knowledge about the compliance system or specifically a judge whose major responsibility is to ensure justice in the social interactive systems.

These youngsters tend to view the judge from the punitive point of view. The role of the judge as perceived by the children is to deal with the "bad guys" who should be thrown in jail. This limited perception of the judge has important implications for the youngsters' mental habit of evaluating people. The infant's simplistic way of viewing reality forces him to evaluate people around him, or political personalities, in terms of good and bad, or right and wrong. In the infant's world only good or bad people, or things, exist. The bad people should be caught and put in jail as their punishment. Implicit in the responses in Table 6 is the children's perception of the "bad guy", the one who breaks the rules, and the "good guy", the one who obeys the rules.

For these youngsters, as their responses seem to indicate, punishment for the bad guys (rule breakers) is inevitable. They think that any one caught committing a crime must be punished by the

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[6] "The compliance system, as the term used here, is a network of laws, persons, and institutions vested with authority to enforce their demands." (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 50)

Table 6

Children's Perception of the Judge

Grade	Statement
K	a. The judge is a person who tells the policemen what to do b. The judge asks the robbers some questions and he wants them to say the truth
1	a. The policemen catch the robbers and take them to the judge who tells them about what they have done. He also tells them how long they will be in jail b. The policemen have to do what the judge says c. The judge works a lot d. He puts people in jail if they have done wrong
2	a. People who break the rules go to court and the judge will ask them questions b. The judge goes to court, he listens to some men and sometimes he gets mad because they do bad things. c. He gives the bad guys a chance to be good d. The judge sends bad people to jail e. The bad guys have to tell the judge the truth f. The policemen and the judge help the Prime Minister

judge. Further, these youngsters are aware of the role of the policeman in dealing with the "bad guys". They perceive a relationship between the policeman and the judge in terms of punishment. The policeman catches the bad guys or robbers and the judge sends them to jail. The responses of some second graders "The policeman and the judge help the Prime Minister" may be interpreted that the children perceive a role relationship between the judge, policemen and the Prime Minister, but a relationship in a punitive sense only.

Question 1 (e)

What do children in kindergarten and grades one and two perceive of the policeman?

Observation

The kindergarten and the first and second grade children were also interviewed on their views about policeman. Table 7 shows extracts of the children's responses. These extracts generally demonstate that the children's range of information appears to be narrow.

On the basis of the interviews the policeman appears to be the most visible authority figure. The children reported to have seen police cars driving around their communities, have observed police officers at the parking meters, or have observed a policeman issuing a ticket to a driver for speeding. They had also observed a policeman conducting the traffic and had seen policemen at accidents. A week before these interviews were conducted, a police officer visited one of the kindergarten schools involved in this study. He gave a talk to the children on road safety rules and block parents. An important part of the children's responses to the question "What does the policeman do?" or "Tell me anything you know about the policeman" was about the police officer who talked to them. Nearly all the children interviewed in that school could remember what the policeman told them. The children seemed to be very impressed by the policeman's visit and what he talked about. They appeared to be enthusiastic and very interested in telling the interviewer about safety rules and the responsibilities of block parents. Interestingly enough, the children were convinced that the road safety rules were made by the policeman because he came to speak to them about such rules.

On the basis of these extracts, it appears that these children

perceive the policeman as a powerful figure whose responsibility is to capture robbers or bad people. "The policemen catch robbers", "They catch thieves and put them in jail", "They punish robbers", "They catch the people who break rules and put them in jail" are responses which indicate that the children think of the policemen as powerful and punitive. Furthermore, the type of responses provided by these children, and particularly those by the kindergarten children, seem to suggest that before the youngsters start school (kindergarten) they have encountered a policeman and have acquired some specific information about them. This external power is the child's initial contact with the political authority or system. The responses in Table 7 also indicate that the children have positive attitudes toward the policemen. This may imply that they seem to accept the policemen's power. Part of the political power which exists in the political system is exercised by the police force.

Although these children think of the policeman as punitive, they also perceive him as protective. This perception appears to be confirmed by responses such as "They prevent fires", "They protect people", "They help you not to do bad things", "They keep people from doing bad things", "They protect Canada". These children also think that the policeman is helpful to the people, the poor and children, (K f,g, h, l, o, q; 1 d, j, k, l; 2 k,); he is friendly to everyone. Some responses refer to the Prime Minister or the judge. "They help the Prime Minister to rule the world", "They work for the Prime Minister", "They protect the Prime Minister", "They bring the bad

Table 7

Children's Perception and Attitudes Toward the Policeman

Grade	Statement
K	a. He catches robbers and puts them in jail
	b. He does a little bit of ruling the world
	c. They help the Prime Minister to rule the world
	d. They told us about safety rules
	e. They punish robbers
	f. They drive around looking for bad and lost people.
	g. They prevent fires
	h. If someone speeds they get him and put him in jail
	i. They protect Canada
	j. They go to emergency
	k. They can give back your money
	l. They help children who are lost
	m. They watch kids so that they are not run over by cars or get hurt
	n. They are nice
	o. They help children and the people
	p. They help people and the poor, they give them money
	q. They help children to get on their bikes
1	a. They do what the judge tells them to do
	b. They catch speeding cars and bad guys
	c. They catch robbers and put them in jail
	d. They work for the people
	e. They go to accidents
	f. They catch thieves and put them in jail
	g. They bring the bad guys to judge
	h. They protect people
	i. They help people who are really rough and drunk
	j. They look after Canada
	k. They protect Prime Minister Trudeau
	l. They help people who get lost
	m. They get people who are in danger
2	a. They catch the people who break rules and put them in jail
	b. They take the bad buys to court
	c. They work for the Prime Minister
	d. They make sure that the rules are obeyed

Table 7

Children's Perception and Attitudes Toward the Policeman

Grade	Statement
2 (Cont'd.)	e. They give speeding tickets f. They catch robbers and put them in jail g. They help the Prime Minister h. They look for the people that try to kill other people i. They help people who are lost k. They help people to learn and do what the Prime Minister says so that they don't get hurt l. They help you not to do bad things m. They are friendly n. They keep people from doing bad things

guys to the judge", and "They take the bad guys to court" are responses which do not imply that the children tend to perceive the policemen in relation to other political figures. The youngster's tendency is to idealize a situation or political personalities. The examples of responses provided by the children show clearly that the children tend to discuss the role of the policeman in isolation rather than in relation to the political system. This is due to the fact that children at these ages may only have the mental ability which enables them to deal with one object or situation at a time. They cannot perceive relationships.

Some of the responses in Table 7 further characterize the children's thoughts. Responses like "He does a little bit of ruling the world", "They can give back your money", "They watch kids so that they are not run over by cars or get hurt", "They give money to the poor people", "They help children to get on their bikes", and "They protect Canada" are indicative of the children's perception of the

policeman based on their own point of view, or they are responses which suggest the children's egocentric manner of perceiving reality.

To summarize, these children look upon policemen as powerful in the sense that they capture and punish robbers or people who do bad things, and they are protective of and helpful and friendly to people and children.

Question 1(f)

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two, know about local political authorities?

Observation

The interviews also intended to investigate the children's awareness of their local political authorities. The researcher attempted to stimulate the children to talk about the local authorities. A number of children interviewed responded to the questions such as "Have you heard anything about the mayor?", or "Tell me anything you know about the Premier of Alberta", with "I don't know". It was decided not to interview all the 39 children. Table 8 shows the procedure of the interviews.

In an attempt to make the children talk about the Premier, a total of 25 children were asked the questions "Have you heard anything about the Premier?" or "Tell anything you know about the Premier". (This was accompanied by the presentation of the picture of the Premier of Alberta). Twenty-two (88%) children responded that they did not know him, and only three (12%) said that they had heard about him. It appeared that the children were not aware of the provincial

Table 8

Children's Awareness of Local Political Authorities

Grade	Premier		Mayor		City Council	
	I have heard about him	I don't know him	I have heard about him	I don't know him	I have heard about it	I don't know it
K N=15[a]	0	8	1	7	0	7
I N=13[b]	1	9	1	7	0	8
2 N=11[c]	2	5	3	1	0	5

Note: a. 8 children were interviewed on the Premier, 8 children on the Mayor, and 7 children on the City Council.

b. 10 children were interviewed on the Premier, 8 children on the Mayor, and 8 children on the City Council.

c. 7 children were interviewed on the Premier, 4 children on the Mayor, and 5 children on the City Council.

Question: Have you heard anything about the Premier/Mayor/City Council? or, Tell me anything you know about the Premier/Mayor/City Council.

political head. A total of 20 children were also asked the above question but with reference to the mayor rather than the Premier. Seventeen children (85%) indicated that they did not know the mayor, while three children (15%) said they had heard about him. Regarding the children's awareness of the city council, the same question was asked in terms of the city council rather than the Premir or the Mayor. Twenty children were involved. They all said they did not know about it.

The children who indicated that they were aware of any of the local political authorities were further questioned to determine what

they knew about them. The "don't know" response was common among all the children concerned. It was the opinion of the interviewer not to insist on asking them any further questions on this topic. As Table 8 shows, the children who were inteviewed specifically on the Premier, Mayor, and City Council, seemed to be unaware of these local political authorities.

Question 1.(g)

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two, perceive of the national flag and anthem?

Observation

The 39 children were also interviewed to explore their conception of the national symbols such as the flag and the national anthem. The extracts of the children's responses are in Table 9.

In modern societies national symbols are crucial unifying forces. It is imperative that the general symbol system is not only known but also felt by every member of society in order to ensure a common national identity, unity, and social and political stability. In other words, the national symbols arouse emotional feelings of attachment to the national government or country. These unifying forces are important in the process of socialization. In order to perpetuate this national unity and feelings of attachment to the country or government, it is vital that the young generation is initiated into allegiance to the country or state.

As the extracts in Table 9 show, the children indicate some awareness of the two national symbols. For example, they have seen or see

Table 9

Children's Perception of the National Flag and Anthem

Grade	Statement
K	a. It is a Canadian flag
	b. If we didn't have this flag we wouldn't know which country
	c. They put it at the police station to show the policemen are in Canada
	d. This flag is a Fire Station. Sometimes they (the people) sing O Canada because they live in Canada
	e. It doesn't belong to other countries like England and the United States
	f. They have different flags in different countries
	g. It (flag) stands for Canada
	h. It is a prayer to God and Jesus
	i. They pray for helping the world, taking care of the people
	j. The flag reminds people that they are in Canada
	k. People sing O Canada for the flag
	l. People sing it on TV
	m. We sing it in class
	n. People sing O Canada at the stadium and at hockey games
	o. I can sing O Canada
1	a. It is a Canadian flag
	b. It stands for Canada
	c. We have this flag here at school
	d. We pray to Jesus for the flag
	e. Canada thank you for giving all people
	f. We have it here because the other people who did not live in Canada and don't know the name (Canada) they can look at the flag
	g. We can see this flag on top of the buildings
	h. I think it tells people what country it is
	i. People sing O Canada for the flag
	j. They sing this song at the stadium, hockey game, and sometimes you can sing O Canada anywhere
	k. We stand when we sing O Canada
	l. We have this flag at our school because this is a Canadian school
	m. The United States has a different flag
	n. O Canada is a kind of prayer but not really
	o. O Canada is a prayer of Canada
	p. They pray to God for Canada
	q. This flag do not belong to other countries like the United States and England

Table 9

Children's Perception of the National Flag and Anthem

Grade	Statement
1 (Cont'd.)	r. This flag shows people that they are in Canada
	s. We sing O Canada because Canada is a good country
2	a. This flag shows that this is Canada
	b. It stands for Canada
	c. They sing O Canada because this is a Canadian country
	d. It does not stand for the United States because the Unites States is not Canada
	e. People sing O Canada at a football game
	f. The flag tells people that this is Canada
	g. We sing O Canada. It is a song which belongs to Canada and we like Canada
	h. The song is for the flag, the flag is for our country
	i. We sing for the flag of our country. We are in a special country

the Canadian flag flying in different places in their own communities or the City. When the Union Jack and the Canadian flags were presented, all the children interviewed could identify the Canadian flag. They know the Canadian flag, it belongs to Canada. It is a sign or symbol which stands for Canada. They also think that the Canadian flag is different from those of England and the United States. "It is a Canadian flag", "It stands for Canada", "It does not belong to other countries like England and the United States" are responses which indicate their basic understanding of the national flag.

The children also view the flag as helpful to foreigners. "We have it here because the other people who did not live in Canada and

don't know the name Canada they can look at the flag."

The responses quoted above and those in Table 9 which are relevant to the flag reveal the children's limited but basic ideas about the flag. Their understanding of the flag is essentially based on the conspicuousness of the flag. They see the flag everyday. For example, the question "What is the flag for?" was asked in an attempt to explore the child's thinking of the flag in both abstract and concrete terms. It was observed that the children tended to answer it in concrete terms. In other words, they could not answer it beyond the answer, "It stands for Canada", or "The flag reminds people that they are in Canada". These responses seem to be a reflection of the youngsters' intellectual habit of perceiving objects or situations in concrete terms. This tendency of thinking limits the children to conceptualize for example, the national flag in abstract terms (a symbol for national unity and loyalty).

Regarding the national anthem, the interviews appeared to indicate that the children had some understanding of the national anthem. As Table 9 shows, several children sing O Canada in class. About five children were willing to sing O Canada quite well ("I can sing O Canada"). The children reported (people) singing O Canada at the national stadium at hockey or football games, they sing it on TV (K 1, n; 1 j; 2 e). "We sing O Canada for the flag", "It is a prayer to God and Jesus", "They pray for the helping the world taking care of the people", "O Canada is a kind of prayer but not really", "O Canada is a prayer of Canada", "They pray to God and Canada", and

"They sing O Canada because this is a Canadian country" are responses which show the children's perception of the national anthem. However, this conception appears to be narrow or egocentric. These responses, (apart from the last one) do not represent the real meaning or the purpose of the national anthem (national pride, unity, and identity). The children attempt to explain the idea of the national anthem on the basis of their own experiences.

Although the children's conception of the national anthem is generally irrelevant, such conception is important at these early ages. Their emphasis on "a prayer for Canada" is an important perception because it refers to Canada or the Canadian nation.

In fact, the children's conception of the flag and the national anthem as observed here appears to indicate the children's primitive conception of nationality. This notion is further illustrated by the children's use of simple ideas as "our","We", "they", or the "people".

The children's attitudes toward the two national symbols, flag and anthem, can also be determined on the basis of these interviews. Although a direct question like "Do you like the Canadian flag?", or "Which one do you like best, the provincial, the Union Jack, or the Canadian flag?", were not asked; some children gave explicit statements like "We sing O Canada because Canada is a good country", "We sing O Canada. It is a song which belongs to Canada and we like Canada". "We sing for the flag of our country, we are a special country". These remarks suggest that the children tend to have positive attitudes toward the national symbols.

In sum, these children seem to have acquired some basic idea about the two national symbols, the flag and the anthem. They are aware of the significance of the flag and the national anthem but they lack a comprehension of these symbols in any real way. They know that the flag stands for Canada and the national anthem is a prayer for Canada. However, their perception of these symbols tends to be simplistic and egocentric.

Research Question Two

> Will the kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of the government, city council, political authorities and the national symbols reflect Piaget's stages of development?

Observation

The kindergarten, grades one and two children are roughly 5, 6 and 7 years old respectively. According to Piaget's development model, these children are in the preoperational stage. They are in the process of the development of mental symbols by imitation. But the child's language and thought tend to be egocentric in the sense that they are unable to take into account other people's points of view. In other words, they tend to interpret words or explain social phenomena in terms of their own experiences. A child in the preoperational stage of development has the mental ability which enables him to handle one thing at a time. Furthermore, in dealing with social phenomena, the child's reasoning depends on memory of what happened in the past, or simply concentrates on his immediate perception of reality.

Another aspect that demonstrates the young child's egocentric

nature of thought is his inability to handle the logic of relations (Piaget, 1951, p. 130). For example, a young child is unable to perceive part in relation to whole. This indicates the absence of relativity from the child's conception. Piaget's (1951) study on the children's judgement and reasoning process, developed the concepts of "realism" and "relativism" in his attempt to explain the youngster's pattern of thought or generally how the child perceives his social and physical environments. Piaget (p. 133) is of the opinion that

> The child unconsciously extends his own immediate point of view to all possible points of view (realism), instead of consciously generalizing a relation which he has conceived clearly as relative and reciprocal (relativism). Realism is therefore a kind of immediate illigitimate generalization while relativism is mediate and legitimate.

The idiosyncratic nature of the young child's mental operation is an indication of the child's active role in the acquisition of political material. In other words, the child's response or reaction to social and physical environments is partly influenced by his own thought.

The young child's cognitive style depicted above was evident in the interviews. The children tend to personalize political objects. For example, the children's perception of the government centers around a person, the Prime Minister. They tend to personalize the government. As the children's responses in Tables 3 and 7 indicate, the children's initial relationship with the political world is through the political personalities such as the Prime Minister, policemen, judge and the national symbols. However, the political person-

alities are perceived by the children as persons rather than in terms of offices which they hold. For example, the Prime Minister was perceived by the children as a person while unaware of the office which he holds. The children's image of the Prime Minister relates mainly to personal characteristics, some of which are irrelevant for the office of the Prime Minister. This perception reflects the children's tendency to view political objects in familiar personal terms rather than in broad systems or institutions.

Another important feature of the children's perception of the Prime Minister is that, although he is well known and appears to be a prominant political figure among the youngsters, he is seen by them as performing his duties not in a reciprocal relationship with the citizenry. According to the children, the Prime Minister acts like a boss who does things for the people, while the people remain obedient and passive. This view about the Prime Minister shows the absence of relativity from the children's perception. The absence of relativity in the children's minds is further reflected in the children's tendency to conceptualize the political objects or figures in isolation rather than in terms of structural system or government.

In sum, these children tend to view the government in personal, concrete terms. The Prime Minister is popular among these children, and it appears that through him children form their initial conception of the government. They think the Prime Minister is the government. He is the first prominant political figure with whom the youngsters establish a political relationship.

Research Question Three

What do children in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve feel about selected democratic political values?

A total of 733 grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children responded to Oppenheim's and Torney's (1974) attitudinal scales. These affective scales are intended to explore the children's attitudes toward democratic political values. The democratic political values include political interest, principles of equality, freedom of speech, political participation, tolerance of diversity, political efficacy and voting. All responses were recorded on computer sheets.

Using a computer program, percentages of the children's responses to the various categories in each item, were calculated. Further, the items were classified into twelve groups reflecting different democratic political values. Six groups of items appeared to be most relevant for this analysis and they were concerned with the following democratic values: anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, principles of equality, good citizenship, and voting. Also included, although not concerned with democratic values, were items intended to explore the children's reasoning modes.

The percentage system is applied in this analysis in order to determine the children's trend or pattern of support for these democratic values.

Observation

1. Authoritarianism

There were six items (Appendix A, 1-6) intended to explore the children's anti-authoritarian attitudes. The children were required

to respond in terms of the response alternatives (Table 10), "Agree", "No opinion", and "Disagree". A child agreeing with the six statements or items would seem to indicate an authoritarian attitude while disagreement with them would mean that the child was anti-authoritarian in terms of his democratic political attitudes. The children's responses are summarized in Table 10.

As the results in Table 10 show, grade four children's (N=179) level of support for anti-authoritarian attitudes is only slight. Only 44.2 (71 children) disagreed with the authoritarian statements. About 28.9 (52 children) percent of the children indicated the "No opinion" response. On the other hand, agreement with the authoritarian statements only involved 24.1 (43 children) percent of the children.

Of the 209 grade six children, 62.4 (130 children) percent appeared to support anti-authoritarian political democratic values. Such support appears to be moderate because 15.5 (32 children) percent of the children supported authoritarianism, while 19.6 (41 children) percent of them indicated the "no opinion" response.

Grade eight children's (N=184) trend of feelings were toward anti-authoritarianism. This support was shared by 70.4 (130 children) percent of the children. However, there were a number of children who did not have opinions (19.3% or 36 children).

Support for anti-authoritarian democratic political values by grade ten children (N=108) was very strong. This support was shared

Table 10

Students' Perception of Authoritarianism

Statement	Grade	Response (Percent)			
		Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	No Response
It is wrong to criticize our government.	IV	24.1	28.9	44.2	2.7
So many people vote in general elections that when I grow up it will not matter much whether I vote.	VI	15.5	19.6	62.4	2.5
People should not criticize the government, it only interrupts the government's work.	VIII	10.1	19.3	70.4	0.3
The people in the power know best.	X	7.3	11.3	79.3	0.2
War is sometimes the only way in which a country can save its respect	XII	5.8	6.7	83.9	3.5
Regular elections in our country are unnecessary.					

by the majority of 79.3 (86 children) percent of the children. Grade twelve children (N=53) tend to feel anti-authoritarian in political terms. Most of them (85.9% or 45 children) had indicated such feelings.

In sum, grade four children's support for anti-authoritarian democratic value was slight. On the whole they seemed to have not yet acquired such attitudes, and also they had some tendency toward an authoritarian outlook. Grade six children seemed to have only moderate support for this value. On the other hand, the general trend of grade eight children's attitudes was toward anti-authoritarianism. However, such a trend was not very impressive. Lastly, most of grades ten and twelve children appeared to have a rela-

tively high level of support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value.

2. Civil Liberties

Question 1 calls also for an investigation into the children's attitudes toward civil rights. The five items which appear in Appendix A, 7-11, or Table 11, reflect democratic values such as the right of free speech, the value of criticism and political participation. The children were required to respond to the five statements in terms of "Agree", "Disagree", and "No Opinion" response categories. The child's agreement with the statement would mean support for such civil liberties while disagreement with such statements would signify the child's non-support for these democratic values. Table II shows the responses of the children by grade.

Of 179 grade four children, 52.0 (93 children) percent of them tended to support civil rights. This trend of support appeared to be slight because 20.8 (37 children) percent of the children did not support such liberties and 25 (45 children) percent of the children did not have opinions.

The attitudinal trend toward the civil rights was also fairly moderate among grade six children (N=209). Only 60.2 (126 children) percent of the children seemed to support these liberties. There were children who did not support these liberties (19.2% or 40 children) or did not seem to have opinions (18.4% or 39 children).

Grade eight children (N=184) tended to support the civil liber-

Table 11

Students' Perception of Civil Liberties

Statement	Response (Percent)			
	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	No Response
Citizens must always be free to criticize the government.				
When something is wrong, it is better to complain to the authorities about it than to keep quiet.				
It is good for the government to be frequently criticized.				
Our country has its faults just like other nations.				
Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.				
Grade				
IV	52.0	25.1	20.5	2.2
VI	60.2	18.4	19.2	2.2
VIII	62.8	17.9	19.1	0.1
X	71.7	11.3	15.0	2.0
XII	79.6	6.0	10.9	3.5

ties moderately. Such support was represented by 62.8 (115 children) percent of the children. These moderate feelings for civil liberties were due to 19.1 (35 children) percent of the children who had feelings against such liberties and others did not seem to have opinions (17.9% or 33 children).

Grade ten children's (N=108) attitudes toward the democratic values or civil liberties were strong because such feelings were shared by 71.7 (77 children) percent of the children.

On the other hand, grade twelve children's (N=53) feelings about civil liberties were relatively very strong. These feelings concerned a majority of 79.6 (42 children) percent of the children.

To summarize, grade four children's support for civil liberties was generally slight. The tendency to support civil liberties among grade six children appeared to be moderate, but such support seemed to be more popular among grade six children rather than among grade four children. However, both grades four and six had a relatively large number of children who felt they had no opinions. The level of support for the civil liberties among grade eight children is more or less similar to that of grade six children. Last, grades ten and twelve children's tendency to support civil liberties is stronger than that of the children in the lower grades.

3. Equality of Rights and Freedoms

Specifically the seven items (Appendix A, 12-18) were intended to determine the children's attitudes of the concept of equality in regard to rights and freedoms. Seven groups of familiar people (Table 12) were presented to the children. The children were required to indicate whether or not each of the seven groups of people would be granted equal rights and freedoms. Response categories "More", "Same", "Fewer" and "Don't know" were used. A child who indicated the response "Same" for all the groups of people would be regarded as supportive of the idea of equality of rights and freedoms. The children's responses appear in Table 12.

The response of grade four children (B=179) clearly indicates that their support for the idea of equality was very slight. Only 47.6 (85 children) felt that equality of rights and freedoms should

Table 12

Student's Support for Equality of Rights and Freedoms

Group

Lawyers
Religious leaders
Communists
Military leaders
Tramps
People with anti-Canada views
Doctors

Grade	Responses (Percent)			
	More	Same	Fewer	Don't Know
IV	14.1	47.6	10.3	28.0
VI	11.1	62.5	9.7	16.7
VIII	10.7	62.2	12.4	14.7
X	3.7	76.5	9.1	10.7
XI1	3.0	79.4	8.8	8.8

be extended to all seven groups of people. This percentage of children represents less than half of the grade four children. The "Don't know" response attracted a fairly large number of children (28% or 50 children).

Feelings of grade six children (N=207) for the concept of equality of rights and freedoms were moderate. More than half of the children (62.5% or 130 children) felt that all the groups of people should be granted equal rights and freedoms. These moderate feelings were due to 16.7 (35 children) percent of the children who were attracted by the "Don't know" response.

Grade eight children (N=184) moderately supported the concept of equality. Their support was represented by a majority of 62.2 children) percent of the children. A total of 27 children (14.7%)

seemed not to understand the concept of equality of rights and freedoms.

Support for the democratic value of equality among grade ten children (N=108) was strong. The strength of their support was represented by a majority of 76.5 (83 children) percent of the children.

Finally, grade twelve children's (N=53) tendency to endorse the application of the idea of equality of rights and freedoms to all seven groups of people was very strong. Most of the children (79.4% or 42 children) supported the concept of equality.

In summary, the children's support for the idea of equality of rights and freedoms varied according to grade. Fourth graders' support for this value was light, while the support of grades six and eight children was moderate. On the other hand, the support for equal rights and freedoms for the identified groups of people was strong among grade ten children. Further, grade twelve children have relatively very strong support for the principle of equality of rights and freedoms.

4. Good Citizenship

There were eleven items (Appendix A, 19-29) aimed at determining the children's perception of good citizenship. It was hoped that the children's perception of good citizenship would also reflect their attitudes towards what they consider good citizenship (see the concluding statement). Eleven ideals of good citizenship were presented to the children and they were asked to respond to each of

the items by one of the following response categories: "A good citizen", "Not sure" and "no".

As Table 13 indicates, the children's perceptions fell into three categories: active citizenship, disengaged citizenship, and non-political elements.

(a) Active Citizenship

Political participation is one of the ideals in political life. For example, one of the important roles of a citizen is to participate in voting or helping others to participate in this political activity. The item which appears in Table 13(a) was intended to find out the children's own perception of active citizenship. The children were provided with three response categories, "A good citizen", "Not sure", and "No". The results are shown in Table 13(a).

The response category "a good citizen" attracted very few grade four children. Of the 179 children, only 29.2 (52 children) percent of the children shared the perception of active citizenship as good citizenship. It was obvious that such perception among the grade four children was very weak. In fact, the majority of these children (43.2% or 77 children) were not sure about this role of citizenship.

The grade six children's (N=209) view of active citizenship was also very weak. Only 29.6 (61 children) percent of the child-

Table 13

Students' Perception of Good Citizenship

a. Active Citizenship

Gets other people to vote in elections.

Grade	(Percent) Responses		
	A Good Citizen	Not Sure	No
IV	29.2	43.2	27.6
VI	29.0	41.0	30.0
VIII	45.1	31.0	23.7
X	64.8	27.8	7.4
XII	56.1	24.6	19.3

b. Disengaged Citizenship

Obeys the laws.
Votes in every election.
Keeps up with what is happening in the world.
Stands up when the national anthem is played in public.

Grade	(Percent) Responses		
	A Good Citizen	Not Sure	No
IV	49.2	40.1	10.7
VI	61.8	28.2	10.0
VIII	64.9	25.4	9.6
X	69.2	21.8	9.0
XII	71.1	18.4	10.5

c. Non-political Elements

Is always polite.
Is loyal to his family.
Works hard.
Has good table manners.
Shows respect for a funeral.
Studies hard to pass examination.

Grade	(Percent) Responses		
	A Good Citizen	Not Sure	No
IV	60.1	30.1	9.8
VI	62.6	27.2	10.2
VIII	57.6	23.7	18.7
X	47.2	29.5	23.3
XII	44.7	28.9	26.3

ren thought that a good citizen is the one who "Gets other people to vote in elections". The majority of these children (41.0% or 85 children) appeared to be uncertain about this role of citizenship.

Relative to grades four and six children's perception of active citizenship, grade eight children's (N=184) perception was stronger. However, this support for active citizenship was generally moderate because only 45.1 (83 children) percent of the children endorsed this support. Thirty-one percent of the children felt uncertain about the idea of active citizenship.

Grade ten children's (N=108) level of perception of good citizenship in terms of active citizenship was higher than that of the children in the lower grades. Such perception was supported by 64.8 (70 children) percent of the children.

The strength of grade twelve children's (N=53) perception of active citizenship seemed to be fairly strong. This perception was represented by 56.1 (30 children) percent of the children.

(b) Disengaged Citizenship

This category has four items or ideals of good citizenship. The categories were also intended to obtain the children's own perception of the citizen's role. The children responded to these ideals through these response categories. Disengaged citizenship de-emphasizes the reciprocal role relationship between the government and the governed.

In other words, the citizens' roles, such as those in Table 13 (b) are merely symbolic elements.

Of 179 grade four children, 49.2 (88 children) percent of them perceived disengaged citizenship as good citizenship. This slight trend of support for this notion of good citizenship was due to 40.1 (72 children) percent of the children who appeared to be uncertain about their perception.

About 61.8 (129 children) percent of grade six children thought that disengaged citizenship was good citizenship. This perception appeared to be more predominant among grade six children than among grade four children. Furthermore, 28.2 (58 children) percent of the children seemed to be uncertain about this perception of good citizenship.

On the other hand, grade eight children's support of good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship tended to be high. But this level of support for this concept of good citizenship appeared to be higher than that of grades four and six children. Of 184 grade eight children, 64.9 (119 children) percent endorsed disengaged citizenship as a meaning of good citizenship.

Of 108 grade ten children, 69.2 (75 children) percent conceptualized good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship. These children's perception of good citizenship seemed to be stronger than that of grades four, six and eight children. More than two-thirds of grade eight children thought that disengaged citizenship described good citizenship.

Grade twelve children's tendency to perceive good citizenship on the basis of disengaged citizenship was greater than that of the children in the lower grades. This tendency of perception involved a majority of more than two-thirds (71.1% or 38 children) of the children. It appeared that grades ten and twelve children generally tended to share this perception of good citizenship.

(c) Non-political Elements

The non-political elements consist of six ideals of good citizenship which appear in Table 13(c). The children responded to these ideals by using the same response categories, "A good citizen", "Not sure", and "No".

A total of 179 grade four children responded to the six ideals. About 61.1 (102 children) percent of the children thought the six non-political ideals constituted good citizenship. The proportion of children who perceived good citizenship in terms of the non-political elements was greater than the proportion of children who thought of good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. Grade four had a relatively large number of children (30.1%) who were not sure about their perception of good citizenship in terms of non-political elements.

The grade six children's (N=209) conception of good citizenship in terms of non-political elements, appeared to be similar to that of grade four children . About 62.6 (131 children) percent of the children expressed the notion that the non-political elements gave the meaning of good citizenship. Furthermore, a large proportion of the children seemed to be uncertain about their perception of good citizens

in the sense of non-political elements.

The non-political elements as a description of good citizenship attracted more grades four and six children than grades eight, ten and twelve children.

A large number of grade eight children were attracted by the non-political elements which they thought meant good citizenship. Of 184 children only 57.6 (106 children) percent of the children endorsed the non-political elements as describing good citizenship.

Less than half of grade ten and twelve children (N=108, N=53 respectively) opted for the non-political elements as defining good citizenship.

In summary, differences in perception of good citizenship were noticeable among grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children.

Grade four children tend to view good citizenship in terms of the social routine elements. This perception involved more children than the perception of good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. The grade six children seemed to define good citizenship in the same way grade four children did. The perception of good citizenship among grade eight children ranged from disengaged to non-political elements. However, many more children preferred to describe good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship. Last, both grade ten and grade twelve children had the tendency to define good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship.

It is argued that children must be aware of the political objects first before they develop feelings toward such objects. In other

words, the child's development of cognition precedes the development of his affection and that the cognitive development increases with age. (Pammett and Whittington (eds.), 1976, p. 19). Grades ten and twelve children and grade eight children to some extent generally tend to perceive good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. These two elements are relevant to good citizenship. Grades four and six children tend to perceive good citizenship in non-political elements. These non-political elements have nothing to do with citizenship roles.

Grades ten and twelve children, and to a certain extent, grade eight children, tend to support the active and disengaged roles of citizenship. On the other hand, grades four and six children's perceptions of good citizenship is poor because their perception generally concentrates on the non-political elements. A large number of grades four and six children felt uncertain about their perception of good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. On the basis of their uncertainty about good citizenship roles, the grades four and six children appear to be unable to express support for active and disengaged citizenship.

5. Peer Group Decision by Voting

Three items (Appendix A, 34-36) were administered to the children to explore their belief in the idea of voting. The three items were hypothetical dilemmas which required a child to put himself in a group situation and attempt to determine solutions. Each item or dilemma had five alternative solutions, one of which was a group decision by taking a vote. The analysis is concerned with the peer group decision

by voting. The results are in Table 14.

As the data seems to indicate, grade four children's (N=179) belief in the idea of voting was relatively weak. The solution "We would talk about it until we all agreed" attracted only a small number of children.

Table 14

Peer Group Decisions by Voting

Response	(Percent) Grade				
	IV	VI	VIII	X	XII
"We would talk about it and then take a vote."	N=179 26.7	N=209 33.3	N=184 40.3	N=108 45.7	N=53 45.3

Note: This summary is based on Appendix B.

Support for voting as a solution was moderate among grade six children. Of 209 children, 70 (33.3%) children thought voting was a solution to the dilemmas.

Grade eight children's (N=184) support for the idea of voting was fairly strong. Forty (74 children) percent of the children shared this support.

The trend of belief in taking a vote as a solution to the dilemmas was greater among grade ten children than that of the children in the lower grades. This belief was represented by 45.7 (49 children) percent of the children. Grade twelve children's support for the notion of voting was more or less similar to that of the grade ten children. Of 53 children, 45.3 (24 children) percent of children indicated such support.

In sum, the levels of the children's support for the notion of voting as applied to the three dilemmas are to be taken in relative terms only. These levels of support, as described above, are relative to other levels of support indicated by the children (Appendix B, p. 201).

6. Children's Concrete and Abstract Reasoning

The four items which appear in Appendix A, 30-33 did not constitute a part of the attitudinal exploration. These items were meant to determine the children's reasoning modes. These items were relevant to the democratic attitudinal exploration because one of the assumptions on which this exploration was based is the belief that the children's acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes depends on their levels of intellectual development or reasoning modes.

The four items consist of situations of varying nature. Each item has five responses. The analysis involved classifying the responses into three categories (Appendix C, p. 204); responses which reflected personalized egocentric tendency, sociocentric tendency, and "I don't know." The child's response to each of the four items was identified in either mode of reasoning described above. Table 15 indicates the children's reasoning modes in terms of the three categories mentioned above.

It was anticipated that most of the grade four children's (N=179) reasoning would be characterized by personalized egocentric tendency rather than sociocentric tendency. As the data show, only 20.5 (38 children) percent of the children appeared to have egocentric tendency

of reasoning. However, there were more children (28.2% or 50 children) who indicated "Don't know" response.

Table 15

Summary of Students' Concrete and Abstract Reasoning

Reasoning Tendency	Grade				
	IV N=179	V N=209	VIII N=184	X N=108	XII N=53
Personalized Egocentric Tendency	20.5	24.3	17.8	12.0	8.0
Sociocentric Tendency	25.5	37.2	49.5	58	69.2
I Don't Know	28.2	17.0	16.5	12.7	4.0

Note: This summary is based on Appendix C.

On the other hand, grade six children (N=209) appeared to have a sociocentric tendency of reasoning. There was a majority of 78 children (37.2%) who tended to reason in a sociocentric manner. There was also a considerable number of children (51 children or 24.3%) whose reasoning mode was still in the egocentric stage.

Of 184 grade eight children, 49.5 (91 children) percent of children had sociocentric tendencies of reasoning. This was almost half of the grade eight children.

Sociocentric tendency of thinking among grade ten children (N=108) appeared to be predominant. About half of the children (58.0% or 63 children) seemed to be sociocentric in their mode of reasoning.

Grade twelve children (N=53) have obviously reasoned in socio-

centric terms. This mode of thinking is represented by 69.2 (37 children) percent of the children.

Research Question Four

> Will the children's different age levels give rise to different feelings toward democratic political values?

The aim of this question was to find out whether the children's different levels of age or grade would give rise to differential levels of support for the democratic political values. The answer to this question is based on the children's responses presented in Tables 10-14.

Observation

According to Piaget's development theory the child's intellectual development passes through stages and that each stage has its own mental characteristics. This implies that the child's perception and attitudes toward social and physical environments are influenced by the intellectual stages. On the basis of this notion of intellectual growth, Piaget (1973) suggests that when children, who are in different stages of development, are presented with the same social or physical stimuli, they respond to them differently or, in other words, they perceive them differently.

The grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children (N=733) completed Oppenheimer's and Torney's (1974) attitudinal scales. The percentages of children who indicated support for the democratic values are shown in Table 16, authoritarianism D; civil liberties A; equality (same); voting (take a vote); good citizenship-active citizenship (GC) and disengaged citizenship (GC). The children's levels of support for these democratic values vary according to the grade levels.

In other words, the percentage of children supporting these values increases with grade or age.

Authoritarianism (1)

Grade four children's support for anti-authoritarian democratic political values is slight. Just above one-third of the children tend to support this value. About one-third of the children seemed to have no opinions in response to authoritarian items. This appears to suggest that some of the grade four children found perceiving anti-authoritarian values difficult. Some tendency of authoritarianism seems to exist in these children (Authoritarian A). Relative to grade four children's support for the anti-authoritarian values, grade six children's level of support is higher. Two-thirds of grade six children compared to only one-third of grade four children endorsed the anti-authoritarian value.

Grade eight children's level of support for the anti-authoritarian value is stronger than that of grade six children. Last, grade ten and twelve children's tendency to endorse anti-authoritarian value is greater than that of the children in the lower grades.

In sum, differences in perception and attitudes toward the anti-authoritarian democratic value appear to be reflected in the varied levels of support for such a value. The support for this value seems to increase with grade or age level. Grade four and grade six children seem to have some difficulty in perceiving the anti-authoritarian value. Their level of support for the anti-authoritarian value is not as impressive as that of grades eight, ten, and twelve children.

Table 16

Summary of the Children's Support for Democratic Values (1-5)

Grade	(1) Anti-Authoritarianism			(2) Civil Liberties			(3) Equality		(4) Voting	(5) Reasoning			(6) Good Citizenship Active Citizenship	
	A	D	NO	A	D	NO	Same	DK	Token Vote	P	S	DK	GC	NS
IV (N=179)	24.1	44.2	28.9	52.0	20.8	25.1	47.6	28.0	26.7	20.5	25.5	28.2	29.2	43.2
VI (N=209)	15.5	62.4	19.6	60.2	19.2	18.4	62.5	16.7	33.3	34.3	37.2	17.0	29.0	41.0
VIII (N=184)	10.1	70.4	19.3	62.8	19.1	17.9	62.2	14.7	40.3	17.8	49.5	16.5	45.1	31.0
X (N=108)	7.3	79.3	11.3	71.7	15.8	11.3	76.5	10.7	45.7	12.0	58.5	12.7	64.8	27.8
XII (N=53)	5.8	83.9	6.7	79.6	10.9	6.0	79.4	8.8	45.3	8.0	69.0	4.0	56.1	24.6

Table 16 (Cont.)

Grade	Disengaged Citizenship	
	GC	NS
IV	49.2	40.1
VI	61.8	28.2
VIII	64.9	25.4
X	69.2	21.8
XII	71.1	18.4

Grade	No-Political Elements	
	GC	NS
IV	60.1	30.1
VI	62.6	27.2
VII	57.6	23.7
X	47.2	29.5
XII	44.7	28.9

A= Agree
D= Disagree
No= No opinion
DK= Don't know
GC= Good Citizen
NS= Not Sure
P=Personalized Egocentric tendency
S=Sociocentric tendency

Civil Liberties (2)

The support for civil liberties among grade four children is moderate. Less than two-thirds of the children appear to support civil liberties. Grade six children's support could be looked upon as stronger than that of grade four children. About two-thirds of the grade six children tend to support civil liberties. On the other hand, grade eight support for civil liberties is more or less as strong as that of the grade six children. About two-thirds of the grade eight children expressed support for civil liberties. Support for civil liberties among grade ten and grade twelve children is relatively strong.

In sum, these children who appear to be at different age levels and intellectual stages of development, seem to perceive civil liberties differently. But grades six and eight children appear to have almost similar levels of support for civil liberties. However, the children's level of support for the civil liberties tends to increase with the grade or age levels.

Equality (3)

Grade four children's support for equality of rights and freedoms was very slight since only less than two-thirds of the children expressed such support. Support for equality among grade six children is fairly strong as about two-thirds of the children, compared with less than two-thirds of grade four children, seemed to support equality among various groups of people. Grade eight children's support for equality is as strong as that of grade six children. More than two-thirds of grades ten and twelve children appear to endorse equal-

ity of rights and freedoms among various social groups.

In sum, grades six and eight children's support for the concept of equality seems to be almost similar. Generally, the strength of support for the principle of equality among these children tends to vary according to age or grade levels. The increasing percentages of children endorsing the principle of equality suggest that the children's perception of the concept of equality increases according to grade or age level.

Voting (4)

Positive attitudes toward the concept of voting are not prevalent among grade four children. Only less than one-third of the children endorsed "taking a vote" as a group solution to the hypothetical problems. However, the notion of voting was fairly popular among the grade six children. As many as a third of the children support the notion of voting applied to group decisions. Grade eight children's tendency to take a vote as a solution to a group problem is stronger than that of the grade six children. Over one-third of the children endoresed "taking a vote" as a group solution. On the other hand, grades ten and twelve children's attitudes to voting were more prevalent among them rather than among the children in the lower grades.

In sum, the perception and attitudes toward voting as a solution to a group problem vary in relation to age levels of grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children. This perception seems to be reflected in the children's differential levels of support for the notion of voting. It appears that the tendency to endorse the notion of voting as

solution to group problems, particularly among grades four, six, and eight children, seems to increase with age or grade levels.

Good Citizenship (5)

There are three elements which seem to describe the notion of good citizenship and non-political elements (Table 13). Active citizenship is essentially concerned with political participation in various capacities. For example, a concerned citizen is critical of the government's operations or wants to influence political decisions or policies. One of the things a citizen can be actively involved with in the political arena is the influencing of people to vote in elections. This type of activity can be described as active citizenship.

Disengaged citizenship involves the performance of a variety of things. For example, a citizen is expected to obey the laws or vote in an election. These political activities are examples of the symbolic elements in the sense that they appear to many citizens as civic obligations (Mishler, 1979, p. 42).

The non-political elements are not related to political participation. A citizen who works hard or is always polite is not actually involved in active citizenship in the sense that he is able to influence political changes.

The three descriptions of good citizenship can be related to the reasoning modes. Active citizenship would require a perception based on an abstract mode of reasoning. This mode of thinking to some extent is applicable to the perception of disengaged citizenship. On the other hand, the non-political elements, as indicated in Table 13,

are familiar social routines which do not require abstract thinking in relating them to good citizenship. These elements are irrelevant to the notion of good citizenship.

Active Citizenship

Only a small number of grade four children thought active citizenship meant good citizenship. Less than a third endorsed active citizenship as a quality of good citizenship. In fact, a large number of children felt uncertain about the concept of good citizenship in terms of active citizenship. This suggests the inability of some grade four children to perceive the active role of good citizenship. The trend of perception of active citizenship among grade six children was similar to that of the grade four children.

Grade eight children were able to define good citizenship in an active sense. Their support for this perception appeared to be higher than that of grades four and six children. Above one-third of the grade eight children supported active citizenship notion of good citizenship.

Grades ten and twlve children had high levels of support for active citizenship. Above two-thirds of the children seemed to support the notion of citizenship.

Disengaged Citizenship

Grade four children's perception of good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship was not strong. Less than two-thirds of the children thought disengaged citizenship was the meaning of good citizenship. More than one-third of the children (40.1% or 72 children) were not sure about this type of good citizenship.

Below two-thirds of grade six children perceived good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship. About 28.2 (59 children) percent of the children felt uncertain about this type of citizenship. Nearly two-thirds of grade eight children viewed good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship. Above two-thirds of grades ten and twelve children thought good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship.

Non-Political Elements

About two-thirds of fourth graders defined good citizenship in terms of non-political elements. About two-thirds of the sixth graders also thought that the non-political elements constituted good citizenship. Less than two-thirds of the grade eight children perceived good citizenship in relation to the non-political elements. On the other hand, above one-third of grade ten children thought the non-political elements described good citizenship. Slightly above one-third of the grade twelve children attributed the non-political elements to good citizenship.

In summary, the concept of good citizenship is perceived differently by the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children. Grade four children generally tended to view good citizenship in terms of non-political elements. The children's tendency to perceive citizenship in terms of social routine matters seems to reflect their reasoning mode. The non-political things were attractive to them because they are more familiar to them than those concerned with active and disengaged citizenship. The level of the children's reasoning permits

them to handle only familiar and simple social and physical phenomena. They are unable to deal with abstract phenomena or concepts such as active citizenship.

Grade six children appeared to perceive good citizenship in terms of disengaged and non-political elements. This seems to indicate that some children are able to handle rather abstract phenomena, while others still have a simplistic or egocentric concrete mentality.

In the case of grade eight children, it appeared that their perception of good citizenship appeared to centre around disengaged citizenship. A large number of children were also attracted by the non-political elements as the meaning of good citizenship. The grade eight children's style of thinking, in reference to this phenomena, seems to indicate that these children are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning, according to Piaget.

Grades ten and twelve children generally perceived good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. This perception reflects their mental ability to handle abstract concepts.

Research Question Five

> Will the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's pattern of democratic political attitudes reflect Piaget's stages of development?

The analysis of the children's responses to this research question proceeded according to the children's developmental stages (Piaget's concrete operational and formal operational developmental stages) as discussed below. On the basis of the concrete operational and formal operational developmental stages, three groups of children were formed: grades four and six children, grade eight children and grades

ten and twelve children. The discussion of the children's responses proceeded under the three groups of children.

Piaget's development model (Chapter II) was based on studies of children's perception of the physical and social environments. Piaget's main concern was to explore the process through which a child develops intellectually. He was also interested in the child's moral and attitudinal development which he found was closely related to the child's intellectual development.

According to Piaget, a child's intellectual development passes through four sequential stages or periods: sensorimotor stage, pre-operational stage, concrete operational stage and formal operational stage. Associated with these stages of development are three stages of moral development: egocentric, incipient co-operation, and genuine co-operation. Piaget also found that the child's attitudinal development consists of two major stages. The first stage, approximately starts from four to five years to about nine or ten years, while the second major attitudinal stage starts about ten or eleven years. Although Piaget did not explore directly the child's development of political attitudes, his model appears to have implications for political socialization (Chapter II).

This research question attempted to explore if the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's attitudes (based on the data in Tables 10-15) toward the five democratic values reflected Piaget's model of development.

Observation

The summary of the children's responses in Table 16 suggest two

modes of reasoning: egocentric and sociocentric. The egocentric mode of reasoning is predominant among grades four and six children, while grades eight, ten and twelve children tend to reason in sociocentric terms. The "Don't know" responses have attracted a comparatively large number of grade four children. This attraction may suggest that some children in this grade operate intellectually between the pre-operational and concrete operational stages of development. The summary of responses in Table 16 may further suggest that grades four (approximately 9 years) and six (approximately 11 years) children intellectually operate roughly at the concrete operational stage or period. Grade eight children (approximately 13 years) may belong to the formal operational stage or are at the threshold of mature modes of reasoning. Grades ten and twelve children tend to have mature modes of reasoning that belong to the formal operational period.

As indicated in the limitation section (Chapter I) the questionnaire survey (in relation to interview survey) was limited in the sense that it did not provide flexibility which enables a child to respond in any way he wished. This problem made it difficult to determine the direction of the child's thought or attitudes. However, an attempt is made to relate the children's responses to Piaget's model on the basis of the general pattern or trend of the children's attitudes toward the five democratic political attitudes.

Grades Four and Six Children

The growing child between the ages of 7 to 12 years is more exposed to social interactions. He has the ability to mentally concen-

trate on two or more ideas, experiences or events simultaneously. However, his general mode of thinking is concrete, egocentric, and tied to the present. He is unable to envision long-range social or political consequences. The child at this age is mentally capable of manipulating concrete experiences but unable to make generalizations beyond the actual experiences.

This mode of mental operation appears to suggest that grades four and six children are not mentally equipped to appropriately conceptualize or express mental attitudes toward the five abstract democratic values. With reference to the data collected (Table 16), grades four and six children's level of support for the democratic values was relatively and systematically low. This may be interpreted that these children lack the cognitive, as well as the affective, capacity to enable them to appropriately express their support for the democratic values as applied to various political contexts or situations. Furthermore, these democratic values are abstract ideals which correspond to the ability of thinking in abstract terms. The grades four and six children's thinking tends to be concrete and egocentric.

Authoritarianism

Grades four and six children's support for anti-authoritarianism was relatively weak, particularly that of the grade four children. The children in these grades have some tendency to agree with the authoritarian items. Young children are characteristically authoritarian in attitudes. Also the "No opinion" response attracted a relatively large number of grades four and six children. This may indicate that attitudes to the anti-authoritarian democratic value are not

formed in some children.

Civil Liberties

Support for the civil liberties among grades four and six children was weak in comparison to the support indicated by grades eight, ten and twelve children.

Equality

The response "Don't know" attracted a relatively large number of grades four and six children. This was particularly true for grade four children. This may suggest that attitudes toward equality among some of these children are not yet formed. On the whole, the grades four and six children's support for the principle of equality was moderate.

Good Citizenship

In relation to the conception of good citizenship in terms of disengaged and active citizenship, grade four children's perception of good citizenship in terms of non-political elements appeared to be strong. This perception seems to reflect on the children's mode of thinking or reasoning. Good citizenship, like other concepts such as civil liberties, equality and anti-authoritarianism, are abstract ideals which are difficult for the children at these ages to perceive. These abstracts correspond to the ability of abstract thinking which is lacking in these children. The social routine elements, which the grades four and six children tend to attribute to good citizenship, are more or less simple and familiar to them.

Voting

The concept of "voting" appeared to be difficult to conceive by

the grades four and six children, given their concrete, egocentric modes of reasoning. The response "We would talk about it and take a vote" as a solution to the hypothetical problems (Appendix B) was not popular among grades four and six children. It appeared to be difficult for the children to perceive it. They lack the abstract modes of thinking which can enable them to perceive this political ideal.

Grade Eight Children

The thirteen year olds, or grade eight children, as stated earlier, are just entering the period of mature modes of reasoning. They are just holding on and capable of slipping back (to concrete, mental operation) easily. Depending on the circumstances, they may mentally behave like the ones older or younger than themselves. The advanced stage of cognitive development (formal operational stage) enables the 13 (or above) year old to think in abstract terms. He is no longer tied to the present and he is mentally able to envision long-range social or political consequences. He can approach a social or political problem in a systematic way or analyze a problem and arrive at a conclusion on the basis of the evidence at hand. Furthermore, a child in the formal operational period is capable of generating hypotheses and testing them in a scientific manner.

Grade eight children's attitudes toward democratic values were rather mixed. Their level of support for these democratic values were generally higher than that of grades four and six children, but not as high as that of the grades ten and twelve children. In some cases the grade eight children's trend of support for democratic values was smilar to that of the grade six children. This situation seems to

reflect the grade eight children's modes of reasoning. It seems that the children are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning.

Authoritarianism

The "No opinion" response attracted a considerable number of grade eight children in relation to grades ten and twelve children. This situation may suggest that some of the grade eight children are not mentally able to handle abstract values such as anti-authoritarianism. It may be that some of the grade eight children still mentally operate at the concrete operational stage of cognitive development.

Relative to grades ten and twelve children's support for anti-authoritarianism, grade eight children's support was not very strong.

Civil Liberties

The trend of support for civil liberties among grade eight children was more or less similar to that of the grade six children. This may suggest some similarity of mental abilities among some of the grades six and eight children in respect of their perception of civil liberties.

In relation to grades ten and twelve children, there were more grade eight children who indicated the "No opinion" response. This may indicate some children's mental inability to perceive the situations in which the principle of civil liberties is applied.

Equality

Grade eight children's level of support for the principle of equality appears to be similar to that of grade six children. This may suggest a similarity of mental operation among grades six and eight children with respect to the conception of the concept of equality.

Good Citizenship

Grade eight children generally tend to perceive good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship and non-political elements. The two levels of perception of good citizenship indicate the existence of concrete and abstract modes of reasoning among grade eight children. The perception of good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship requires abstract thinking. Among the grade eight children the disengaged citizenship was a more popular definition of good citizenship than the definition based on non-political elements.

Voting

The support for the concept of voting among grade eight children tended to be stronger than that of the grade six children. But such support was not as strong as that of the grades ten and twelve children. It is likely that some grade eight children are not yet mentally ready to perceive the notion of voting.

Grades Ten and Twelve Children

At the age of 15 or 17 a child has reached a more advanced stage of congitive development. He has acquired mental abilities which enable him to analyze and evaluate social or political problems or events. He can formulate hypotheses and critically test them. At this level of intellectual development, formal operational stage of development, a child is able to conceptualize ideas such as democracy or democratic values.

The data in Table 16 shows clearly that relative to grades four, six and eight children's support for the democratic values, grades

ten and twelve children's support for such values was systematically high. This level of support for the democratic values seems to reflect the children's effective mental abilities which enables them to deal with abstract concepts or values.

In some areas the grades ten and twelve children did not demonstrate the expected high level of perception. For example, their level of perception of the notion of voting or their level of perception of good citizenship in terms of active citizenship, was low. The low level of perception can be attributed to lack of content or information rather than of cognitive equipment.

SUMMARY

This chapter was concerned with the analysis of the data. Guided by the five research questions, the analysis involved observations of kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of the government, political authorities and the national symbols such as the flag and anthem. The analysis was further concerned with observation of grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's development of attitudes toward democratic values such as anti-authoritarianism, equality, civil liberties, voting and good citizenship. Piaget's developmental theory was used to explain the children's responses.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

SUMMARY

This study was based on the concept of political socialization process in which children learn political ideas, values and attitudes. It is said that the children's political learning is influenced by agencies such as family, school, media and peer group. This statement may imply that the concept of political socialization has a notion of transmission, a process whereby the older generation transmits political norms to the younger generation. However, this process of transmission does not necessarily imply that the child remains passive. The idiosyncratic personal or cognitive development enables the child to respond selectively to political stimuli in his own way to satisfy his own idiosyncratic needs and values. In other words, the child's political thought is influenced but not dictated by adult agencies.

One concern in the field of political socialization is to provide opportunities for younger children to acquire the basic political orientation or for older children to acquire political attitudes toward democratic political values such as anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, equality, good citizenship and voting. Some of society's major social institutions such as the family, school and media, appear to have important influences on the child's political orientations. However, the child's biological traits or intellectual development are

are also important influences on the child's political learning.

An exploration of the acquisition of the basic political orientations and attitudes toward the democratic political values involved a sample of 772 children drawn from St. Albert Public School System. These children were in two groups: the first group consisted of 39 kindergarten, grades one and two children, the second group had 733 grade four, six, eight, ten and twelve children.

Two types of surveys were conducted: interview and questionnaire surveys. The interviews for kindergarten, grades one and two children were conducted in the form of open-ended question-and-answer sessions. In the unstructured type of interview it became important that a child was given ample opportunity to freely elaborate his thoughts on a particular topic. The interviews were conducted in order to explore the children's basic political orientations which included the children's percpetion of the government, Prime Minister, Queen, policemen, judge, mayor, city council and national symbols. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Responses of children from each grade level were categorized according to the topics under exploration in order to determine a general pattern of perception.

Kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of the government tended to be egocentric in nature in the sense that their perception was based on their own experiences. They tended to view the government in terms of personalities of which the Prime Minister was the most important. The youngsters' awareness of the local political authorities was also explored. Generally, the youngsters were

unaware of the local political authorities. On the other hand, the children appeared to have some basic knowledge about the national symbols, the flag and anthem. They were aware of the significance of these symbols.

Grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children were involved in the questionnaire survey. They completed Oppenheim's and Torney's (1974) attitudinal scales intended to explore the children's attitudes toward democratic political values such as anti-authoritarianisms, civil liberties, equality, good citizenship and voting. There were also separate items intended to determine the children's styles of reasoning. Percentages or average percentages of children's responses to each item were calculated to determine the trends of the children's support for the democratic values. A summary of the children's responses appear in Table 16.

Grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children appeared to be able to express their support for the five democratic values: anti-authoritarianism, civil liberties, equality, voting and good citizenship. However, the children's levels of support for these values tended to vary according to their intellectual stages or age levels.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This section is concerned with the summary of the findings presented in terms of the research questions raised. Conclusions for each research question are presented in a general summary form.

Research Question One

> What do children in kindergarten, grade one and two perceive of the government, city council, political authorities and national symbols?

Question 1(a)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the government?

Findings

The kindergarten, grades one and two children tend to perceive the government in personal terms. They also think of the government in terms of specific functions which are familiar to the children. Furthermore, they think that the government is a person who makes the rules, commands the people but he is also kind, helpful, and protective.

Conclusions

Kindergarten, grades one and two children appear to perceive the government as a man who lives in a city rather than as an institution. They describe his functions on the basis of their own experience in their families or communities. They perceive the government as a man who is likeable, benevolent, protective and having great importance, knowledge and power. The youngsters' perception of the government in personality, simplistic and familiar terms is due to their intellectual limitations. They have the tendency to perceive things in concrete egocentric terms.

Question 1(b)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the Prime Minister?

Findings

The youngsters view the Prime Minister in isolation rather than in relation to the government. They tend to perceive the government and

the Prime Minister as separate entities. They also appear to see the role of the Prime Minister not in a reciprocal relationship. They think the Prime Minister commands people and makes rules which must be obeyed by the people. The youngsters also think that the Prime Minister is concerned with their own welfare, helpful, protective, kind and powerful.

Conclusions

The kindergarten, grades one and two children view the Prime Minister in idealized, simplistic and stereotyped terms. They think that the Prime Minister is concerned about their welfare, he is kind, likeable, helpful, protective, powerful and having great importance. Furthermore, the Prime Minister appears to be very popular among youngsters. Although the youngsters seem to have limited information about the Prime Minister, they appear to have positive attitudes toward him. The youngsters' initial political relationship with government seems to be established through the Prime Minister who appears to be well known among the youngsters.

Question 1(c)

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the Queen?

Findings

Although the Queen is not conspicuous in the Canadian scene, the youngsters seem to have some awareness of her. The children's perception of the role of the Queen is rather exaggerated or even irrelevant. However, they think that the Queen is helpful and benevolent.

Conclusions

The kindergarten, grades one and two children have some awareness of the Queen as a person who is not conspicuous in Canada. They tend to view the Queen's role in isolation rather than in relation to the Prime Minister or the government of Canada. But they think that the Queen is helpful and benevolent.

Question 1(d)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of a judge?

Findings

The children's perception of a judge appears to be strictly limited to punitive aspects. They generally think that the function of the judge is to deal with rule-breakers or criminals and punish them. They can see a relationship between the policemen and the judge, but only in the punitive sense.

Conclusions

The youngsters look upon the judge's role in a punitive sense rather than facilitating peace, justice and order in the society. Their limited intellectual development appears to force them to perceive the judge as an individual rather than an institution for justice.

Question 1(e)

What do children in kindergarten, grade one and two perceive of the policemen?

Findings

The policeman is perceived by the youngsters as a man who captures bad men (robbers and those who break the traffic rules) and

punishes them. They also think that the policeman helps people and children when they are in difficulties or trouble. The policeman is friendly to everyone and protects people from doing bad things.

Conclusions

The kindergarten, grades one and two children view the policeman's role in isolation rather than in relation to the government or other political authorities. Furthermore, their perception of the policeman's major role is very limited to the punitive aspect. However, the youngsters feel that the policeman is friendly, helpful and protective of the people and children.

Question 1(f)

> What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two know about the local political authorities?

Findings

The youngsters were to respond to the question "Have you heard anything about the Premier/mayor/city council?" Of eight kindergarten children interviewed, none seemed to know anything about the Premier. The ten grade one children were also asked this question about the Premier. Only one child could say something about him. Only two of the seven grade two children interviewed said they had heard about the Premier. For the mayor, only one child of the seven kindergarten children appeared to have heard about the mayor, while one child in grade one (seven children were interviewed) also reported to have heard about the mayor. Of the four grade two children, three of them seemed to know something about the mayor. A total of seven kinder-

garten, eight grade one and five grade two children were interviewed on the city council. None of them seemed to have heard anything about the city council of their city.

Conclusions

The majority of the kindergarten, grade one and grade two children interviewed specifically about the Premier, mayor and city council appeared to be unaware of their local political authorities. Grade two children interviewed on the mayor were exceptions. Nearly all the children reported to have heard about the mayor.

Question 1(g)

What do children in kindergarten, grades one and two perceive of the national flag and anthem?

Findings

Nearly all the youngsters interviewed could identify the Canadian flag. They showed awareness of the flag as a symbol for Canada. Another aspect of the youngsters' understanding of the flag was in relation to the national anthem. Most of the children reported that O Canada was sung for the flag.

In regard to the national anthem, nearly all the youngsters showed some basic understanding. Singing O Canada in class was reported by a considerable number of the youngsters, but the majority reported to have seen people singing O Canada. The children think that O Canada is a prayer for Canada.

The frequent use of the concepts like "our", "we" or "people" by the children in expressing their ideas about the flag and the national anthem are indicative of the childrens' initial conception of national-

ity. Such concepts may also indicate the children's positive attitudes toward the two national symbols.

Conclusions

The kindergarten, grades one and two children seem to have acquired some basic ideas about the national symbols, the flag and anthem. They are aware of the significance of the flag and the national anthem but they lack a comprehension of these symbols in any real way. They know that the flag and the national anthem are symbols for Canada. This knowledge is simply based on proximity and familiarity. These children do not appear intellectually mature enough to conceive of these symbols in terms of national identity, national pride or unity and loyalty to the nation. However, the youngsters seem to have positive attitudes toward the national anthem and flag.

Research Question Two

> Will the kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of the government, city council, political authorities and national symbols reflect Piaget's stages of development?

Findings

- The responses of the children in kindergarten, grades one and two, seem to suggest intellectual characteristics which are typical of the five to seven year olds. The five, six or seven year olds who are in Piaget's pre-operational stage of development tend to show egocentric tendencies in their perception of social and political phenomena. They tend to perceive the social and physical realities on the basis of their own experiences. The egocentric perception of the

children does not permit them to mentally deal with two things at a time. They also show inability to see or discuss things in terms of their relationship.

These youngsters' perception of the political figures, institutions and national symbols reflects their idiosyncratic cognitive style as described above. They tend to view the political figures, the Prime Minister, Queen, policeman and judge in isolation because of their intellectual inability to see things in relative terms. Furthermore, they view the government in terms of personality rather than as an institution. The tendency to personalize the government is due to the children's mental inability to conceive of the government as a system which involves interactions among political figures and institutions. In other words, they are intellectually incapable of handling abstract concepts like the government.

The simplistic information which the children seem to have acquired about the political figures and institutions such as the government is essentially based on their own experience or points of view.

Conclusions

The youngsters' views about the government, political figures and national symbols are egocentric in the sense that they are simplistic, stereotyped and somewhat idealized or exaggerated. This would seem to indicate the youngsters' tendency to perceive things on the basis of their own experiences. Moreover, this style of perception is a reflection of the children's egocentric cognitive style which tends to only enable them to view the sociopolitical and physical elements simply

from their own points of view. The egocentric style of reasoning appears to be dominant among the youngsters who are in the Piaget's preoperational stage of development.

Their egocentric nature of reasoning only permits them to see the political figures and the government in isolation rather than in terms of interactive relationship. They tend to personalize the concept of government. Further, their perception of the political figures such as the Prime Minister, Queen, policeman and judge, appear to concentrate on the individual persons rather than on their office.

The children's knowledge about the government or political figures is specific and simplistic, based on their own points of view.

Research Question Three

> What do children in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve feel about selected democratic political values?

1. Authoritarianism

Findings

Less than two-thirds of the grade four children (N=179) seemed to support anti-authoritarian democratic values. About one-third of the children appeared to have no opinion in responding to authoritarian items. About 24.1 (43 children) percent of the children showed support for authoritarian attitudes.

Grade six children's (N=209) support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value was represented by only 62.4 (130 children) percent of the children. Children who appeared to have no opnion in their reaction to the authoritarian items formed 19.6 percent.

Support for anti-authoritarian democratic value among grade eight children (N=184) was indicated by 70.4 (129 children) percent. About 19.3 (36 children) percent of the children felt they had no opinions in responding to the authoritarian items.

In response to the authoritarian statements, 79.3 percent of grade ten children (N=108) disagreed with them indicating their support for anti-authoritarian democratic value. Support for this value among grade twelve children (N=53) was indicated by 83.7 percent of the children.

Conclusions

Support for the anti-authoritarian democratic political value among grade four children is relatively very low. This is partly due to 28.9 percent of the children who appeared to have no opinions in responding to the authoritarian statements suggesting that their attitudes toward anti-authoritarianism are not yet formed. Also 24.1 percent of the children agreed with the authoritarian statements, a situation which may be interpreted that some of the grade four children tend to be authoritarian in terms of their democratic political attitude.

The level of support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value among grade six children is higher than that of grade four children but lower than that of grade eight children. About 19.6 percent of the children felt they had no opinions. This may suggest that anti-authoritarian attitudes are not yet formed in some of the grade six children.

The trend of support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value among grade eight children is stronger than that of grade four and six children but not as strong as that of grade ten or twelve children. The "no opinion" response was attracted by 19.3 percent of the grade eight children. This attraction may suggest that even some of the grade eight children's anti-authoritarian attitudes are not yet formed.

In relation to grades four, six and eight children, the grade ten and twelve children tend to have the strongest feelings toward the anti-authoritarian democratic political value.

2. Civil Liberties

Findings

Grade four children's (N=179) support for the civil liberties was represented by only 52.0 percent of the children. Furthermore, 25.1 percent of the children felt they had no opinion in response to the items on civil liberties.

The trend of feelings toward the civil liberties among grades six and eight children appeared to be more or less the same. About 60.2 (125 children) percent of the grade six children (N=207) tended to epxress support for the civil liberties, while 62.8 (115 children) percent of the grade eight children (N=184) also indicated support for the civil liberties.

A large percentage (71.7 or 77 children) of grade ten children (N=108) indicated support for the civil liberties.

Of the 53 grade twelve children 79.6 (42 children) percent of them

expressed support for the civil liberties.

Conclusions

Grade four children's support for the civil liberties is relatively low. This low level of support for the liberties is due to 25.1 percent of the children who expressed no opinions. This "no opinion" can be interpreted as the children's inability to perceive civil liberties and thus the absence of feelings toward the civil liberties in the children.

The trend of feelings toward the civil liberties among grades six and eight appears more or less the same but stronger than that of grade four children.

Grade ten children have a higher level of support for the civil liberties than that of grades six and eight children.

Grade twelve children's support for the civil liberties is much stronger than that of the children in the lower grades.

3. Equality of Rights and Freedoms

Findings

Fourth graders' (N=179) support for equality of rights and freedoms (equality) was expressed by 47.6 (82 children) percent of the children. The "don't know" response was attracted by 28 percent of the children.

Grades six children's (N=209) support for equality was indicated by 62.5 (131 children) percent of the children, while grade eight children (N=184) support for equality value was represented by 62.2 (114 children) percent of the children.

The support for equality for rights and freedoms among grade

ten children (N=184) was represented by 76.5 (83 children) percent of the children. On the other hand, 79.4 (42 children) percent of grade twelve children showed support for the principle of equality.

Conclusions

There is a variation of levels of support for the principle of equality. The endorsement of the principle of equality among fourth graders is much weaker than that of the children in the higher grades. This weak endorsement of the application of the principle of equality is due to 50 children who were attracted by "don't know" response. This situation may suggest that these children were not mature enough to perceive the application of the principle of equality.

The level of support for the principle of equality among grades six and eight is stronger than that of grade four children.

The percentages of grades ten and twelve children responding favorably to the application of the idea of equality are much greater than those of the children in the lower grades. This appears to indicate that grade ten and twelve children's level of support for civil liberties is higher than that of the children in the lower grades.

4. Good Citizenship

Findings

(a) Active Citizenship

The perception of good citizenship in terms of active citizenship among grade four children (N=179) was represented by only 29.2 percent of the children. About 43.2 (77 children) percent of the children were not sure about their perception of good citizenship in this sense.

The notion of active citizenship was perceived by only 29.0 (61 children) percent of grade six children (N=209). The "not sure" response attracted as many as 41.0 (86 children) percent of the children.

The perception of good citizenship on the basis of active citizenship involved 45.1 (83 children) percent of grade eight children (N=184).

Grade ten children's (N=108) conception of good citizenship in terms of active citizenship was indicated by 64.8 (70 children) percent of the children.

About 56.1 (30 children) percent of grade twelve children (N=53) indicated active citizenship as a definition of good citizenship.

(b) Disengaged Citizenship

About 49.2 (88 children) percent of grade four children (N=179) tended to define good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship. The response "not sure" was attracted by 40.1 (72 children) percent of the children.

As many as 61.8 (129 children) percent of grade six children (N=209) viewed good citizenship from disengaged citizenship standpoint.

A proportion of 64.9 (119 children) percent of grade eight children (N=184) thought disengaged citizenship described good citizenship.

Of 108 grade ten children, 69.2 (75 children) percent of the children indicated disengaged citizenship as a meaning of good citizenship.

Among the 53 grade twelve children 71.1 (38 children) percent of the children defined good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship.

(c) Non-Political Elements

Of 179 grade four children 60.1 (108 children) percent of the children viewed good citizenship in non-political elements sense.

A proportion of 62.6 (131 children) percent of grade six children (N=209) thought the non-political elements described good citizenship.

The perception of good citizenship in non-political terms was represented by 57.6 (106 children) percent of grade eight children (N=184).

About 47.2 (51 children) percent of grade ten children (N=108) thought the non-political elements described good citizenship.

A total of 53 grade twelve children responded to the non-political ideals. About 44.7 (24 children) percent of them thought the non-political ideals formed the meaning of good citizenship.

Conclusions

Grade four children's perception of good citizenship seem to be generally based on the non-political elements. The percentage of children who perceived good citizenship in the non-political elements sense was greater than the percentage of children who viewed good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. On the other hand, grade six children generally perceived good citizenship in terms of non-political elements and disengaged citizenship. The percentages of children who perceived good citizenship in non-political elements and disengaged citizenship were larger than the percentage of children who think active citizenship as a meaning of good citizenship.

The perception of good citizenship in terms of disengaged citizenship seemed to be a general trend among grade eight children. The percentage of children perceiving good citizenship in this sense was larger than the percentages of children who perceived good citizenship in terms of active and non-political elements.

Generally, active citizenship was thought by grade ten children to be the meaning of good citizenship. The majority of children tended to think that way.

Grade twelve children generally viewed good citizenship as active and disengaged citizenship. However, the disengaged citizenship as a description of good citizenship seemed to attract more children than the other descriptions.

5. Peer Group Decision by Voting

Findings

A total of 179 grade four children responded to three hypothetical dilemmas by choosing a solution among five alternative solutions. The voting solution was attracted by only 26.7 (48 children) percent of the grade four children.

The voting solution to the dilemmas was favoured by 33.3 (70 children) percent of grade six children (N=209).

The notion of voting as a solution to the dilemmas was supported by 40.3 (72 children) percent of grade eight children (N=184).

About 45.7 (49 children) percent of grade ten children (N=108) thought voting was a solution to the dilemmas.

On the other hand, the support for voting as a solution to the dilemmas was indicated by 45.3 (24 children) percent of grade twelve children (N=53).

Conclusions

The notion of voting was poorly conceived by grade four children because their level of support for this notion was relatively weak. Grade six children appeared to have a better perception of the concept of voting. Grade eight children, their perception of the idea of voting was even clearer than that of grades four and six children. A relatively large number of grade eight children appeared to be attracted by the idea of voting. On the other hand, grades ten and twelve children tended to have the best conception of voting. Their level of support for the idea of voting was higher than that of the children in the lower grades.

Generally the conception of the idea of voting among these children seemed to vary in accordance with grade levels except for grades ten and twelve children's conception which was at the same level.

6. Students' Concrete and Abstract Reasoning

Findings

The reasoning tendency of grade four, six, eight, ten and twelve was explored on the basis of two characteristics: personalized egocentric tendency and sociocentric tendency.

About 20.5 (37 children) percent of grade four children (N=179) tended to reason in personalized egocentric terms. The sociocentric tendency characteristic involved 25.5 (46 children) percent of the grade four children. The "don't know" response attracted 28.2 (51 children) percent of the children.

Of 209 grade six children, 24.3 (51 children) percent of them

were characterized by personalized egocentric reasoning. The sociocentric tendency of reasoning involved 37.2 (78 children) percent of the children, while 17.0 (36 children) percent of the children indicated the "don't know" response.

Only 17.8 (37 children) percent of grade eight children (N=184) seemed to have egocentric tendency of reasoning. On the other hand, the sociocentric tendency of reasoning was prevalent among 49.5 (91 children) percent of the children. Furthermore, 16.5 (30 children) percent of the children indicated the "don't know" response.

About 12.0 (13 children) percent of grade ten children (N=108) tended to reason in personalized egocentric terms, while 58.5 (63 children) percent of them seemed to reason in sociocentric terms. Only 12.7 (14 children) percent of the grade ten children chose "don't know" response.

Only about 8.0 (4 children) percent of grade twelve children (N=55) tended to reason in egocentric terms, while 69.2 (37 children) percent of them appeared to reason in sociocentric manner. Only 4.0 (2 children) percent of the children were influenced by the "don't know" response.

Conclusions

The personalized egocentric tendency of reasoning among grade four children appears to be in the process of development. The "don't know" response was popular among grade four children. Also personalized egocentric reasoning ability appeared to exist among grade four children.

The relatively large number of children with sociocentric tendency of reasoning suggest that the majority of grade six children could be

characterized as sociocentric in terms of their reasoning.

There was a larger percentage of grade eight children who tended to be sociocentric in their thinking. This high percentage suggests that most of the grade eight children have the tendency to reason in sociocentric terms.

The sociocentric tendency of reasoning appears to be predominant among grade ten children. A relatively large number of children fell under this type of thinking.

The sociocentric tendency of thinking was also predominant among grade twelve children. This tendency was indicated by comparatively large number of children who tended to think in sociocentric terms.

General Conclusion

As far as these children's reasoning tendency is concerned, the personalized egocentric tendency of reasoning is relatively predominant among grade four children and to a lesser extent among grade six children. Grade six children and particularly grades eight, ten and twelve children seem to think in sociocentric terms.

Research Question Four

> Will the children's different age levels give rise to different feelings toward the democratic values?

Authoritarianism

Findings

Less than half of grade four children indicated support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value. About two-thirds of grade six children seemed to support this value. The grade eight children's support for the anti-democratic value was represented by more than two-thirds of the

children. On the other hand, the anti-authoritarian democratic value was supported by more than two-thirds of grade ten children, while grade twelve children's support to this value was indicated by more than two-thirds of the children.

Conclusions

Levels of support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value vary among grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children. Grade four children support for this value was only slight. Some tendency of authoritarianism seemed to be present in a number of the children. Also the children's choice of the "no opinion" response seems to suggest that the children's attitudes toward this value are less formed or are in the process of being formed.

Grade six children's level of support for the anti-autnoritarian was moderate but higher than that of grade four children. The high level of support for this value (in relation to that of grade four children) suggest that these children have the abilities to perceive the anti-authoritarian value.

The support for the anti-authoritarian among grade eight children was stronger than that of grades four and six children. This level of support may also indicate a differential perception or attitudes toward this value. In this case showing much better conception of the value.

In relation to the lower grades children's support for the anti-authoritarian democratic value, most of the grade ten and twelve children seemed to have a very high level of support for this value. The

high level of support for this value may reflect the children's effective intellectual maturity which enables them to handle abstract ideas such as the anti-authoritarian value.

General Conclusion

The differential levels of support for the anti-democratic value among the grade four, six, eight, ten and twelve children appears to suggest differential perceptions of this value and that such perceptions are influenced by the children's age levels and their associated stages of intellectual development.

Civil Liberties

Findings

Grade four children's level of support for civil liberties was expressed by less than two-thirds of the children. The "no opinion" response attracted 25.1 percent of the children. In the case of grade six children's support for this value, only about two-thirds of the children indicated support for civil liberties. About two-thirds of grade eight children endorsed civil liberties, while more than two-thirds of grade ten children supported such liberties. On the other hand, about three-quarters of grade twelve children supported civil liberties.

Conclusions

Differences of perception and attitudes toward the civil liberties existed among grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children. Grade four children's level of support for the civil liberties was only slight, partly due to a large number of children who felt they had no opinions in response to the items on civil liberties. This

low level of support for the civil liberties suggests that grade four children had some difficulty in perceiving the application of civil liberties.

In relation to grade four children's support for the civil liberties, grade six children's level of support was high, indicating that a large proportion of the children had the abilities to perceive the application of civil liberties.

The tendency to support civil liberties among grade eight children was almost similar to that of grade six children.

Last, grade ten and twelve children's level of support for civil liberties was relatively very high. It appears that their level of perception of the application of civil liberties was relatively high. This high level of support indicates that these children are mentally equipped to handle abstract ideas, principles, or the application of civil liberties.

General Conclusion

Differences in support for the civil liberties existed among these children as described above. The differential support for the civil liberties among the children seems to indicate that the children's perception and attitudes to civil liberties are influenced by their different ages and their associated stages of intellectual development.

Equality

Findings

Only less than two-thirds of grade four children expressed support for equality of rights and freedoms. A large number of children were attracted by the "no opinion" response. The sixth-graders' support

for the idea of equality was indicated by about two-thirds of the children. The support for the application of the principle of equality among grade eight was represented by about two-thirds of the children. More than two-thirds of grades ten and twelve children endorsed the application of the principle of equality to various social groups of people.

Conclusions

The application of the principle of equality among different social groups of people seems to be perceived differently by the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children as indicated by the differential levels of support for equality.

Grade four children's support for the idea of equality was generally slight partly due to a large number of children who responded to the items on equality by the "have no opinion" response. The slight support for the concept of equality indicated by the grade four children appears to suggest that most of the children found it hard to understand the principle of equality.

The level of support for equality among grades six and eight was identical. However, in relation to grade four children's perception of the principle of equality, a larger number of grades six and eight children appeared to be intellectually capable of handling the abstract notion of equality. Their level of support for equality is higher than that of grade four children.

Grades ten and twelve children tended to have a higher level of support for the idea of equality than children in the lower grades.

This means that grades ten and twelve children's level of perception of the concept of equality is relatively very high.

Voting

Findings

Voting as a solution to the group's hypothetical problems attracted only less than one-third of grade four children. Only one-third of grade six children chose the voting solution. The voting solution was indicated by over one-third of the grade eight children. Grades ten and twelve children's support for the voting solution was expressed by almost two-thirds of the children.

Conclusions

The perception of the concept of voting as a solution to a group problem among the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children varied according to grade levels. This appeared to be true particularly among grades four, six and eight children.

Grade four children have the lowest level of support for the idea of voting. This situation indicates that grade four children had a poor perception of the concept of voting. This poor perception could be attributed to the children's mental ability which does not enable them to perceive the notion of voting applied in problematic situations.

Grade six children's perception of the idea of voting appeared to be a little bit clearer than that of grade four children. A larger proportion of the children seem to support the idea of voting.

The grade eight children's endorsement of the idea of voting tended to be stronger than that of the children in the lower grades. This endorsement indicates the children's effective mental abilities

which enable them to comprehend the application of the idea of voting.

The relatively high level of support for the idea of voting among grades ten and twelve children seemed to indicate a relatively high level of understanding of the concept of voting. In other words, the majority of grades ten and twelve children were capable of perceiving the notion of voting applied in problematic situations.

Good Citizenship

Findings

About two-thirds of grade four children tended to define good citizenship in terms of the non-political elements. This definition attracted more children than the other definitions of good citizenship. The grade six perception of good citizenship in terms of non-political elements was indicated by two-thirds of the children, while the disengaged description of good citizenship was preferred by just below two-thirds of the children. The active citizenship description of good citizenship was perceived by only less than one-third of the children.

The tendency to perceive good citizenship in a disengaged citizenship sense involved about two-thirds of grade eight children. The other two definitions attracted only few children. In the case of grade ten children, their perception of good citizenship was based on active and disengaged citizenship although the latter appeared to be a more popular definition than the former. The non-political elements as a description of good citizenship received just above one-third of the children. Grade twelve children viewed good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship. The latter attracted more children than the former.

Conclusions

The grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children tended to perceive good citizenship differently. Grades four and six children generally thought the non-political elements described good citizenship. Disengaged citizenship was generally thought by grade eight children to be a definition of good citizenship. Grade ten and twelve children tended to perceive good citizenship in terms of active and disengaged citizenship.

Children's Concrete and Abstract Reasoning

Findings

The children's reasoning was explored using items consisting of situations of varying nature. The children responded to the situations either in personalized egocentric (concrete) or in sociocentric (abstract) terms.

About 20.5 percent of grade four children tended to reason in egocentric style. The sociocentric style of reasoning was indicated by 25.5 percent of the children. About 28.2 percent of the children indicated "don't know" response to the hypothetical situations.

The sociocentric mode of reasoning was shown by 37.2 percent of the grade six children. About 24.3 percent of the children seemed to be egocentric in their reasoning.

Grade eight children's sociocentric mode of thinking was represented by 49.5 percent of the children, while the egocentric tendency of reasoning involved only 17.8 percent of the children. The egocentric style of thinking was indicated by only 12.0 percent of grade ten children, while the sociocentric tendency of thinking involved 58.5 percent

of the children.

About 8.0 percent of grade twelve children tended to reason in an egocentric style, while 69.2 percent of the children appeared to be sociocentric in their mode of reasoning.

Conclusions

The style of reasoning among grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children seemed to differ according to grade or age levels. A relatively large number of grade four children expressed the "don't know" response to the hypothetical situations. Also egocentric tendencies appeared to be present in these children. This tendency may suggest that personalized egocentric tendency of thinking was prevalent among grade four children. Sociocentric styles of reasoning appeared to be predominant among grade six children. However, some indication of egocentric tendency was also present in these children. Grades eight, ten and twelve children appeared to have acquired sociocentric (abstract) style of reasoning. In each grade the percentages of children who showed such tendency was very high.

Research Question Five

> Will the grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's pattern of democratic political attitudes reflect Piaget's stages of development?

Findings

The children's modes of reasoning, as discussed previously, appear to be relevant to Piaget's stages of development preoperational, concrete operational and formal operational stages. Children between the ages of seven and twelve are in the concrete operational

stage. They tend to reason in concrete egocentric terms, while those above twelve years of age are in the formal stage and their thinking tends to be mature. They are able to reason in abstract terms.

Grades four and six children are in the concrete operational stage, while grade eight children may belong to formal operational stage or are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning. Grades ten and twelve children are in the mature category of reasoning so they belong to the formal operation as well. A direct relationship between the children's responses and their stages of development cannot be observed because of the limitations of the instruments as pointed out in the first chapter. The trend of the responses and the patterns of the children's support for the democratic political values appear to reflect Piaget's stages of development.

Grades Four and Six Children

On the basis of Piaget's stages of development, the grades four and six children tend to reason in concrete egocentric terms. They are tied to the present, they are able only to manipulate concrete experiences, but they are unable to generalize beyond the actual experiences. With this style of thinking it seemed likely that the grade four and six children would find it difficult to perceive the five abstract democratic political values. Their trend of support for the five democratic values was systematically low.

Grade Eight Children

Grade eight children are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning. On some occasion they may display the advanced cognitive

style of dealing with the social and physical phenomena. But they are also prone to concrete manners of thinking. Given this nature of the children's mental operation, it would be rather difficult for some children to comprehend the five abstract democratic values. The grade eight children's level of support for the democratic values is stronger than that of grades four and six children but not as strong as that of grades ten and twelve children. In some cases, the grade eight children's level of support for the democratic value appeared to be similar to that of grade six children (Table 16, (2) A, (3) same).

Grade Ten and Twelve Children

The grade ten and twelve children are in the formal stage of development. They have acquired advanced modes of reasoning. These abilities enable them to critically analyze, evaluate social and political events or issues. In this stage of development the children are mentally capable of conceiving ideas such as democracy and democratic values.

The grade ten and twelve children's level of support for the five democratic values are stronger than that of the children in the lower grades.

Conclusions

The relatively low level of support for the five democratic values among grades four and six children would appear to be due to the children's intellectual inability to perceive the values. Given their concrete and egocentric style of reasoning, it was apparently

difficult for them to comprehend the abstract ideas or principles like the five democratic values.

The grade eight children did not seem to clearly comprehend the five democratic values. This lack of comprehension was reflected on their level of support for the democratic values. Their tendency to support these values was generally stronger than that of grades four and six children but not as strong as that of grades ten and twelve children. In some cases their level of support was similar or close to that of grade six children. This situation suggests that the grade eight children are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning. This cognitive style appears to have an impact on the children's level of support for the five democratic values.

Grades ten and twelve children have demonstrated capabilities to perceive the five democratic political values as shown by their relatively very high level of support for the five democratic values. This high support for these abstract values can be attributed to their advanced level of reasoning which enabled them to comprehend the abstract democratic values.

General Summary of Conclusions

This exploratory study appeared to indicate the following:

1(a-e). Kindergarten, grades one and two children's perceptions of the government tend to be egocentric in the sense that their perception is based on their own familiar experiences. They have the tendency to perceive the government in terms of personalities such as the Prime Minister, judge, policeman and the Queen. However, the Prime

Minister is the most popular political figure among these children. The children seem to know him in terms of specific duties which he performs. They think that the Prime Minister is concerned about their welfare and also the welfare of other people. They generally think that the Prime Minister is helpful, powerful, protective, kind, likeable and having great importance. The children's initial relationship with the government appears to be established through political figures of which the Prime Minister is the most prominant one.

1(f). The kindergarten, grades one and two children appear to be unaware of the local political authorities such as the Premier, mayor and the city council. Only grade two children simply reported to have heard about the mayor.

1(g). The kindergarten, grades one and two children appear to have acquired the basic information about the national symbols such as the flag and anthem. They are aware of the significance of these symbols but they lack a comprehension of them in a real way.

2. The kindergarten, grades one and two children's egocentric and concrete style of reasoning permits them to perceive the government only in terms of personalities rather than in terms of an institution (which is an abstract idea). This lack of ability suggests that these children are in the Piaget's preoperational stage of intellecutual development. This stage is characterized by the egocentric concrete mode of reasoning which seems to influence the children's perception of the political objects.

3. Grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children appear to be

able to express their support for the five democratic values: anti-authoritarian, civil liberties, principle of equality, good citizenship and voting. However, the levels of support tend to vary according to grade. Throughout the study, a large number of the grade four children appeared to have no opinions in response to the items on values. A general pattern seems to indicate that grade four children have persistently the least level of support for the democratic values, while grades ten and twelve children's support for these values tends to be relatively high throughout. Grades six and eight children's level of support for the values lies somewhere between that of grade four and grades ten and twelve children.

4. The grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's level of support for the democratic value generally appear to increase with grade or age. This increase seems to suggest that the children's ages (particularly grades four, six and eight children's ages) and their associated intellectual levels tend to give rise to the differential levels of support for the democratic values.

5. Grades four and six children's concrete egocentric style of thinking appears to have influence on their perception of the democratic values. This influence is reflected by their relatively low levels of support for the democratic values. Relatively, the grades four and six children have a substantial number of children who felt uncertain about their opinions suggesting that some of these children, particularly those in grade four, experienced difficulty in comprehending these values.

Grade eight children tended to be on the threshold of mature modes of thinking. This is because in some cases their level of support for the democratic values is similar to that of grade six children, while in other cases their level of support is higher than that of grade six children but not as strong as that of grade ten children. This appears to suggest that grade eight has concrete egocentric as well as sociocentric children.

Grades ten and twelve children are in the advanced stage of mental operations. Their sociocentric tendency of reasoning appears to have influenced their relatively high level of support for the democratic values.

IMPLICATIONS

This section falls into five parts: (1) Implications for Piaget's developmental model; (2) Implications for kindergarten, grades one and two children's perception of political objects; (3) Implications for grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children's support for the democratic political values; (4) Implications for formal political socialization; (5) Implications for the Alberta Social Studies Program.

This study was an exploration of the children's basic perception of the political objects (kindergarten, grades one and two children) and the development of the children's attitudes toward the democratic values such as anti-authoritarian value, civil liberties, principle of equality, good citizenship and the notion of voting (grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children).

1. Implications for Piaget's Model of Development

One of the important assumptions which underlines Piaget's model of development is that children of various age levels tend to perceive a physical or social phenomenon differently. The differential perception is due to the children's varied stages of intellectual maturation and ages. Grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve children responded to similar items on the democratic values. On the basis of these responses the children's perception of the democratic values tends to vary in relation to grade or age levels. This differential perception is reflected in the children's levels of support for democratic values. This seems to imply that the children's intellectual stages of development, with their roughly associated ages, tend to have an influence on their perception of the democratic values. Grades four and six children tend to be in the concrete operational stage of development while grade eight children are on the threshold of mature modes of reasoning. In other words, they are just entering the formal operational stage of intellectual growth, capable of slipping back. Grades ten and twelve children are in the advanced formal operational stage of mental development.

Grades four and six children, to some extent, appear to be unable to perceive the democratic values, for example, at the level of grades ten and twelve children. Their stage of mental development or the concrete egocentric style of reasoning limits them to comprehend these abstract values. The relatively high level of support for the democratic values among grades ten and twelve children (and grade eight to some extent) indicate that their mental capacities are effect-

tive, they can mentally handle abstract concepts or values.

2. Implications for Kindergarten, Grades One and Two Children's Perception of the Political Objects.

The family, the school, and media are important sources of political information for the youngsters. The youngsters' responses in the interviews do not appear simply to be a reproduction of what has been imposed by adults or of agencies of political socialization, the family, school and media. In fact, the children's perception of the government, judge, policeman, Queen, and the national symbols, is idiosyncratic in the sense that it is not necessarily the type of perception held by adults. For example, the children's idealistic and simplistic perception of the Prime Minister and even the policeman as indicated in their responses, seems to suggest the children's original thoughts about these political objects rather than a mere reproduction of what comes from adults. Even some of the ideas which seem to be imposed by adults are not simply reproduced, "the child digests what he borrows and digests it according to a mental chemistry of his own." (Piaget, 1973, p. 39)

This seems to imply that in the political learning process a child is active rather than passive as implied in the transmission notion of political socialization.

The child's intellectual development or biological traits also tend to influence his perception of political objects.

3. Implications for Grades Four, Six, Eight, Ten and Twelve Children's Support for the Democratic Political Values

The differential levels of support for the democratic values among these children seem to reflect the children's differential perception of the values. The source of knowledge and attitudes about these values can be the family, school, media, peers, church, political or government agencies and other organizations. However, the children's differential levels of support for the democratic values seem to suggest that the children's intellectual characteristics influence their perception of the values. In other words, the children are mentally active in the acquisition of information and attitudes toward these values. The child's cognitive development appears to either enhance or limit the acquisition of political knowledge and attitudes.

4. Implications for Political Education

The youngster's concrete egocentric style of thinking limits their perception of politics. The youngsters perceive political objects in terms of personalities and their information or ideas about these political personalities tend to be simplistic in the sense that the political information is based on the child's own experience. However, with his unorganized limited knowledge about the political world, the youngster tends to establish his initial political relationship with government through conspicuous political figures and symbols. The Prime Minister appears to be the most known and popular among the youngsters.

It appears that the use of political figures and national symbols

is desirable in order to help the youngsters to acquire systematic information about the basic political objects and symbols. Emphasis on political personalities and national symbols in political education means providing the youngster opportunities to acquire the basic political perception necessary for his future understanding of the political system.

5. Implications for the Alberta Social Studies Program

The Alberta Social Studies Program emphasizes citizenship education in which children are provided with opportunities to develop values or attitudes which can help them to function in a democratic nation. In the process of critical examination of the sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and cultural values, children acquire values and attitudes that are compatible with citizen participation in a democratic society. The citizens' effective participation in a democratic political system requires the understanding and the development of positive attitudes toward democratic political values such as the principles of equality, the concept of voting, civil liberties and anti-authoritarianism.

The values or concepts such as equality, freedom of speech, civil liberties, and voting, are emphasized in the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum (1978). In fact, the teaching of these democratic values begins in the upper elementary grades. The findings of this study seem to indicate that the children's perception and development of attitudes toward values such as equality, civil liberties and voting, depend on their age levels and intellectual maturation. It appears

that at the age of thirteen or above, children seem to be intellectually ready to acquire attitudes toward these abstract, democratic values.

This finding has implications for the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum. The abstract concepts or values such as equality, freedom of speech and voting, appear to be suitable for teaching in high school rather than in elementary or junior high school. At the age of thirteen or above, children appear to be able to handle such concepts.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

On the basis of the findings of this study, further research studies are suggested as follows:

1. At the age of five the infant is in kindergarten. In this study kindergarten children appear to have some information and positive attitudes toward the most conspicuous political personalities and symbols. The Prime Minister and the policeman, the national anthem and the flag, are popular among the kindergarten children. A study on when and how the infants before five years of age acquire information and attitudes toward the conspicuous political objects would be useful.

2. The development of democratic political attitudes in children in grades four, six, eight, ten and twelve explored in this study seem to suggest differential perception on the basis of grade or age levels. Using interview survey rather than questionnaire survey, it would be useful to conduct a further study on the development of democratic political attitudes using another set of democratic poli-

tical values. The interview survey would give the children ample opportunity to express themselves in any way they wish. This opportunity is not possible in the questionnaire survey.

3. In this study the exploration of the youngster's initial perception of the political objects involved kindergarten, grades one and two children. A further study using the interview survey can include kindergarten to grade eight children in order to explore development trends and especially to observe perceptual changes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OPPENHEIM'S AND TORNEY'S

ATTITUDINAL SCALES

Here are some things that have been said about the way our country should be governed. You may agree with some of them and disagree with others; sometimes you will agree or disagree strongly; at other times you will feel certain or have no opinion. Please look at each statement, and then mark one of the letters in one of the columns to show how you feel about it.

	A STRONGLY AGREE	B AGREE	C I HAVE NO OPINION	D DISAGREE	E STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. It is wrong to criticize our government.					
2. So many people vote in a general election that when I grow up it will not matter much whether I vote or not.					
3. War is sometimes the only way in which a country can save its self-respect.					
4. The people in power know best.					
5. People should not criticize the government, it only interrupts the government's work.					
6. Regular elections in our country are unnecessary.					
7. When something is wrong, it is better to complain to the authorities about it than to keep quiet.					
8. It is good for a government to be frequently criticized.					
9. Our country has its faults just like other nations.					
10. Newspapers and magazines should be allowed to print anything they want except military secrets.					
11. Citizens must always be free to criticize the government					

There are lots of different people in our country. Do you think they should all have the same rights and freedoms as everyone else or should they be treated differently? Please mark a letter for every group to show how you think they should be treated.

THEY SHOULD HAVE:	A MORE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS THAN EVERYONE ELSE	B EXACTLY THE SAME AS EVERYONE ELSE	C FEWER RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS THAN EVERYONE ELSE	D I DON'T KNOW
12. Lawyers				
13. Religious leaders.				
14. Communists				
15. Military leaders				
16. Tramps				
17. People with anti-Canada views				
18. Doctors				

Imagine that you had to explain what a good citizen is, or what a good citizen ought to do. Please read each sentence, then mark A (Good citizen) if that is what you mean by a good citizen. If the sentence does NOT help to explain what you mean by a good citizen, mark C (No). If you are not sure, mark B (Not sure).

A GOOD CITIZEN:	A GOOD CITIZEN	B NOT SURE	C NO
19. Obeys the law.			
20. Is always polite.			
21. Votes in every election.			
22. Is loyal to his family.			
23. Works hard.			
24. Has good table manners.			
25. Studies hard to pass an examination			
26. Keeps up with what is happening in the world.			
27. Gets other people to vote in elections.			
28. Stands up when the national anthem is played.			
29. Shows respect for a funeral.			

30. Why do all births, deaths and marriages have to be officially recorded? Here are some answers to this question. Please read them all, then mark an answer that shows what you think. Mark only one answer please.

A. To make it easier to find people who have disappeared. _____

B. So that you can prove who you are, or prove that you are born, married or have died. _____

C. So that the government will know how many people have been born, married or have died. _____

D. I don't know. _____

31. What is the most important thing to know when deciding how to vote in an election? (Mark the ONE answer that shows what you think.)

A. What principles are best for the nation as a whole. _____

B. Will the candidate do his best for me and my family. _____

C. What the candidates will do for the community. _____

D. I don't know. _____

32. Why does each country have its own flag?

A. Something to be proud of and to fly on special occasions. _____

B. To show which country we belong to. _____

C. As a symbol of being different from other countries. _____

D. I don't know. _____

33. Why do you think some people go into politics, stand for Parliament or become city aldermen?

A. To be popular, and to have more money. _____

B. Because the country needs new politicians. _____

C. They want to make changes and improve things in the country. _____

D. I don't know. _____

34. Suppose that you and your friends are playing a game, and some of you want to change one of the rules of the game or make a new rule. How would the group decide? (Mark the <u>one</u> that happens most often.)

A. _____ We would talk about it until we all agreed.

B. _____ There are generally one or two persons in the group who would decide.

C. _____ We would go and ask someone to decide the rules for us.

D. _____ We would try the new rule and see if it makes for a better game.

E. _____ We would talk about it, and then take a vote.

35. Suppose you and your friends had a club, and the club needed a leader. How would your group choose the leader? (Mark the <u>one</u> that happens most often.)

A. _____ We would talk about it until we all agreed.

B. _____ A good leader would come forward naturally.

C. _____ We would talk about it, and then take a vote.

D. _____ We would try out different leaders until we found the best one.

E. _____ We would ask someone to decide for us.

36. Suppose that you and your friends had collected some money. How would your group decide what to use the money for? (Mark the <u>one</u> that happens most often.)

A. _____ We would talk about it until we all agreed.

B. _____ The leaders of our group would decide what to do.

C. _____ We would go and ask someone to decide for us.

D. _____ We would talk about it, and then take a vote.

E. _____ We would wait until we knew more and had some new ideas.

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF PEER GROUP DECISION

PEER GROUP DECISION

(Percent)

Question	Grade IV N=179	VI N=209	VIII N=184	X N=108	XII N=53
34. Suppose you and your friends are playing a game, and some of you want to change one of the rules of the game or make a new rule. How would your group decide?					
A. We would talk about it until we all agreed.	37	34	28	26	30
B. There are generally one or two persons in the group who would decide.	8	11	8	4	8
C. We would go and ask someone to decide the rules for us.	5	3	6	3	2
D. We would try the new rule and see if it makes for a better game.	21	21	22	29	21
E. We would talk about it, and then take a vote.	21	26	33	36	36
F. No response.	7	4	3	3	4
35. Suppose you and your frfends had a club, and the club needed a leader. How would your group choose the leader?					
A. We would talk about it until we all agreed.	15	13	16	10	25
B. A good leader would come forward naturally.	8	6	6	6	8
C. We would talk about it, and then take a vote.	47	58	65	72	62
D. We would try out different leaders until we found the best one.	14	15	7	6	2
E. We would ask someone to decide for us.	7	5	4	2	0
F. No response.	9	3	2	3	4
36. Suppose you and your friends had collected some money. How would your group decide what to use the money for?					
A. We would talk about it until we all agreed.	23	33	40	37	45
B. The leaders of our group would decide what to do.	23	17	9	7	4
C. We would go and ask someone to decide for us.	7	7	4	3	0
D. We would talk about it, and then take a vote.	12	16	23	29	38
E. We would wait until we knew more and had some new ideas.	26	24	21	22	9
F. No response.	8	3	3	2	4

PEER GROUP DECISION

DILEMMAS

(Percent)

Response	Grade				
	IV N=179	VI N=209	VIII N=184	X N=108	XII N=53
"We would talk about it and then take a vote."	21	26	33	36	36
	47	58	65	72	62
	12	16	23	29	38
Total:	80	100	121	137	136
percent:	26.7	33.3	40.3	45.7	45.3

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF THE CHILDREN'S CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT REASONING

CHILDREN'S CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT REASONING

Responses to the four questions are intended to reflect the children's two styles of reasoning: egocentric concrete and sociocentric abstract tendencies of reasoning. Responses B to questions 30-32 and response A to question 33 reflect the child's egocentric concrete mode of thinking. Response A to question 31 and responses C to questions 30, 32, 33 indicate the children's sociocentric abstract reasoning. Percentages of these response categories were calculated to provide the following summary:

Grade	Reasoning Tendency		
	Egocentric	Sociocentric	Don't Know
IV	20.5	25.5	28.2
VI	24.3	37.2	17.0
VIII	17.8	49.5	16.5
X	12.0	58	12.7
XII	8.0	69.2	4.0

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEWS

LISA K

Lisa, can you tell me anything about the Prime Minister?

I know nothing about him.

Tell me something about the government.

I don't know about it either.

How about the Queen?

I don't know.

Have you seen a policeman?

Yes.

What does he do?

If someone speeds he gets him, that is all.

What happens then?

They put him in jail.

Who else is taken to jail?

I don't know.

Are the persons driving too fast the only ones who are put in jail?

Someone I think at the parking lot if he doesn't care about it will go to jail.

Who else?

That is all I can think of.

Lisa, is that all the policemen do?

Yeah, I think they put handcuffs on them too.

Why do they put handcuffs on them?

'Cause they have been too bad.

Lisa, who tells the policement to put the people who do bad things in jail?

The judge.

Oh, the judge?

Don't you know what the judge is?

Tell me something about him.

A judge is a person who tells you what to do.

Do you think he tells anybody what to do?

Not anybody only the policemen.

Do you think the judge is the government?

No.

Who is the government?

I don't know his name but I know who is the government.

What does the government do?

He tells the people what to do.

What does the government tell the people to do?

The government tells them to do what he wants them to do.

Tell me one thing the government wants the people to do?

He tells the police to get the people who speed and those at the parking lot. That is all I know.

Where does the government live?

I don't know.

Where does he work?

He works at the police station.

Are the judge, the policemen and the government work at the police station?

Yes.

Who makes the rules the government or the judge?

The government.

What kind of rules does he make?

I don't know, they don't tell you much.

Have you seen him somewhere?

Yeah. I have seen him a few times.

Where have you seen him?

Maybe downtown by Sears or Bay.

What does he do there?

Well, he never told me but he knows where he goes.

Does he work there?

Yeah.

Do you know the building in which the government works?

I don't know.

Would you guess?

There is one in Edmonton and another one in California.

Oh, California, in the United States?

Yeah.

Does he live there too?

Yeah.

How come he lives in California while he is the government of Canada?

No, there are lots of governments, there are lots of them in each country.

Do they all work for Canada?

They all work for Canada.

Have you head of Mr. Clark or Mr. Trudeau?

No.

Do you think the government is helpful to the people?

Yes.

In what ways?

I don't know in what ways, but I know he does.

Tell me some things the government does to help the people.

He makes money for them.

Which people?

The poor people in other countries.

Are there poor people in Canada?

No.

What do the poor people do with the money?

They buy food and some stuff.

Do you know why these people are poor?

I don't know.

Are the poor the only ones who get money from the government?

Yeah. Well, some people put money in the bank and the government takes it out and gives it to the poor.

Can the bank refuse to give the government money?

Well, if they don't they will go to jail.

What else does the government do?

I don't know.

Who tells the men to clean the streets?

The government, he tells them to do that.

Do they get paid for doing that?

No.

Why?

The government is sometimes grubby.

Why is the government grubby sometimes?

Because sometimes he works too hard.

Does he like you?

Yeah, he likes everybody.

Does he like children?

Yeah, he gives them lots of food.

Lisa, look at these pictures (Trudeau, Broadbent and Clark). Do you know any of them?

Yes, Clark.

What job does he do?

I don't know.

Have you seen him somewhere?

Yes, in few places.

What was he doing?

I don't know.

What is this (Canadian flag)?

It is a flag.

Whose flag?

Canadian flag.

Why does Canada have a flag?

So that they know it is Canada.

What do you do for the flag here at school?

I do nothing.

Do you sing a song?

Yes.

What kind of song do you sing?

I don't know.

Is it O Canada?

I don't know, but it sounds like.

This is a Canadian flag, do you think it belongs to the United States too?

No.

Why?

Because it is not Canada.

Lisa, look at this picture (Premier Lougheed), do you know him?

No.

Do you want to tell me anything about the city of St. Albert?

I don't know.

Tell me something about the mayor of the city of St. Albert.

I don't know.

CHARLIE GRADE 1

Charlie, tell me anything about the government.

I don't know.

Have you heard of the word government?

No, I haven't.

What about the Prime Minister, do you know anything about him?

I don't know.

Do you see that flag flying outside there?

Yes.

Tell me anything you know about it.

Yeah, that is Canada flag. It is in Canada and this school is part of Canada.

What does the flag stand for?

Well, I really don't know.

Where else do we find a flag like this?

By my bus stop there is a flag.

Is that the only other place that has this flag?

In the other classrooms there is Canada's flag.

Do you sing a song for the flag?

Yes, O Canada.

Is that the only type of flag Canada has?

No, there are lots of them.

What I am asking is that does Canada have another different flag?

Yeah, there is a different one.

Like this (Union Jack)?

Yeah.

Do you think this flag belongs to Canada too?

I have seen somewhere in Canada.

I have a picture of a lady (Queen), who is she?

I don't know.

Look at this picture (Premier Lougheed), who is he?

I don't know.

Here are three pictures (Trudeau, Broadbent and Clark), which one do you know?

I remember that guy (Trudeau) but I don't know his name.

Have you seen him somewhere?

Well, I have seen him on TV.

What is his job?

I don't know, I have forgotten.

Charlie, would you like to tell me anything you know about election?

I don't know that.

What about voting, do you know anything about it?

Yeah, but my mom and dad did not vote.

Why didn't they vote?

I don't know, I think they didn't feel like doing it.

What did the people vote for?

They voted for the person who was going to be the President of Canada. I don't know who is the winner. Someone must have won but I don't know who that is.

What did the people actually do on the voting day?

Well, lots of people voted for one guy and others voted for another guy. The guy who got lots of people to vote for him must have won.

What do you think the one who won is doing now?

He is lowering the prices in Canada, I mean he makes them cheaper.

Is this the reason why he got lots of people to vote for him?

I don't know, but the people like cheaper prices.

What things whose prices would people want to be lowered?

Oh, can food, cats, pudding and all that stuff. My mother doesn't like higher prices. We don't have very much food in the fridge. We can't buy much because we don't have much money.

Is that all what you know about voting?

Yeah.

Did the people vote for other persons as well?

They voted for the two guys.

Are there other persons who help the Prime Minister?

I don't know.

Charlie, do you know anything about political parties like Liberal Party or Conservative Party?

No.

Tell me anything about the city council of St. Albert.

I don't know about that either.

Have you heard of the mayor of the city council?

I don't know him.

What about the policemen, do you know something about them?

The policement catch the bad guys.

What do they do with them?

Sometimes they put them in jail and sometimes they check their licences and money.

Do you think the policemen work for the Prime Minister?

No, I don't think so.

Have you heard of the judge?

No.

What about the court?

No.

CAROLANN GRADE 2

Carolann, do you know anything about the government?

He tells people about things around the world.

What else does he do?

He is fair to the people.

Anything else he does for the people?

Sometimes he tells what is going to be like.

Do you mean he tells them about the wheather?

Yes.

What else?

Some people don't like what he says should be done.

What do these people do then?

Like sometimes when he is talking some people turn on TV and he is on TV.

Do the people listen to him?

Yes.

What does he say?

I don't know.

Do all the people like him?

Some people don't like him. Like when some people escape from Canada, some people don't think he does the right thing to get the persons back.

Why do such people escape from Canada?

I don't know.

Anything else the government does for the people?

He helps them live and sometimes he lowers the prices of food. Sometimes some people get mad at him because he raises gas prices.

What do people do when they get mad at him because of raising gas prices?

Sometimes they don't listen to him and sometimes they don't believe him.

Can the people get rid of him?

No.

Why?

Because he is the government.

Do you think he is going to be the government forever?

I am not sure.

How did he become a government?

More people voted for him and he got the highest mark.

Can the people vote him out?

I don't know about that.

Do the people vote often or only once?

They vote often.

If many people get mad at him, can they vote for another government?

If the people don't like him they will vote him out.

Carolann, have you heard of the Prime Minister.

Yes, Trudeau is the Prime Minister.

Do you think he is the government?

Yes.

Where does he live?

He lives in the United States.

Why do you think he lives there and not in Canada?

Because the people in the United States don't fight against us but they fight against some other countries. So he can choose to live in Canada or in the United States.

When the Prime Minister raises food prices here in Canada, does he do so for the United States?

Not usually. Sometimes he can. Like if the people in Canada like him better than the people of the United States, he might not raise the prices so much in Canada. If the people of the United States like him better than the people of Canada, he might not raise the prices of things in the Unite States.

I think the Prime Minister has a lot of work to do. Do you think he has other persons to help him?

Yes, he has other people to help him so that he does not make many mistakes. Some other people go out in the world and find out some more stuff and then they tell him.

Who do you think makes the rules in this country?

Prime Minister Trudeau makes the rules because he is not an ordinary citizen like us. He already has obeyed all the rules and he would like us to obey the rules he has written. He writes the rules for us so that nobody gets hurt.

Do you think the Prime Minister is a good citizen because he has already obeyed all the rules?

Yes.

Is he the best citizen of all the people of Canada?

No. Just because he is a Prime Minister doesn't mean he is the best citizen or smarter than us. His secretaries go out to find things for him.

Who makes sure that the rules that the Prime Minister makes are obeyed?

The policemen, because they are the people who were the second to be taught to obey the rules.

If the policement find someone breaking the rules, what do they do with him?

They might bring him to court or if he does something really bad, they might put him in jail.

Who works in the court?

The judge, who judges if the bad guys are telling him the truth. They are supposed to tell the truth.

Do the policemen and the judge help the Prime Minister?

Yes, they are helping him to try to make the people learn to do what the Prime Minister says so that they don't get hurt or do something wrong that can make them go to jail.

Carolann, do you think the policemen are friendly?

Yes, they can help you not to do bad things. If you do bad things, the policemen will take you to court and then put you in jail.

Here is a picture (Premier Lougheed), who is he?

I don't know him.

What about this picture (Trudeau), who is he?

Prime Minister Trudeau.

Have you seen him somewhere?

I have seen him on TV when he makes speeches.

To who does he speak?

The whole country of the United States and Canada.

How about this lady (Queen), who is she?

The Queen.

Of what country is she the Queen?

England.

Is she the Queen of Canada too?

Yes.

What does the Queen do for England and Canada?

She is doing the things that the Prime Minister Trudeau is doing for Canada and the United States.

Tell me some of the things the Queen does for Canada.

She helps us in lots of things. Sometimes she is on TV talking about prices. She makes sure that we get the things we deserve.

Do you think the Queen is Prime Minister Trudeau's boss?

Yes, because the Queen was born before Prime Minister Trudeau. She learned many things when Trudeau was a baby. She tells Trudeau the right things to say about progress.

Is this Queen the Queen of other countries too?

She is the Queen of the United States too.

APPENDIX E

PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS' AGGREGATED RESPONSES TO THE FOUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES

(Anti-authoritarianism, Civil Liberties, Equality of Rights and Freedoms and Good Citizenship)

Percentages of Students' Aggregated Responses to Authoritarian Items

(Appendix A, 1 - 6)

	GRADE					
	COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A,B		268	202	111	47	20	648
		24.1	15.5	10.1	7.3	5.8	14.4
C		321	255	213	73	23	885
		28.9	19.6	19.3	11.3	6.7	19.6
D E		491	813	777	514	287	2882
		44.2	62.4	70.4	79.3	83.9	64.0
N.R.		30	32	3	14	12	91
		2.7	2.5	0.3	2.2	3.5	2.0
	COLUMN TOTAL	1110	1302	1104	648	342	4506
		24.6	28.9	24.5	14.4	7.6	100.0

Note: (a) A = Agree
C = No Opinion
D - Disagree
N.R - No Response

(b) Figures in the top row of the rectangle report the total number of responses to the six items for the indicated response category and grade.

The second row are percentages of students' responses for each grade responding to the alternative response categories.

Percentages of Students' Aggregated Responses to Items on Civil Liberties

(Appendix A, 7 - 11)

	GRADE					
COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A.B	481	653	578	387	227	2326
	52.0	60.2	62.8	71.7	79.6	61.9
C	232	200	165	61	17	675
	25.1	18.4	17.9	11.3	6.0	18.0
D.E	192	208	176	81	31	688
	20.8	19.2	19.1	15.0	10.9	18.3
N.R.	20	24	1	11	10	66
	2.2	2.2	0.1	2.0	3.5	1.8
COLUMN TOTAL	925	1085	920	540	285	3755
	24.6	28.9	24.5	14.4	7.6	100.0

Note: (a) A.B = Agree
C = No opinion
D.E = Disagree
N.R = No Response

(b) Figures in the top row of the rectangle report the total number of responses to the six items for the indicated response category and grade.

The second row are percentages of students' responses for each grade responding to the alternative response categories.

Percentages of Students' Aggregated Responses to Items on Equality of Rights and Freedoms

(Appendix A, 12 - 18)

	GRADE					
COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A	183	168	138	28	12	529
	14.1	11.1	10.7	3.7	3.0	10.1
B	617	950	801	578	317	3263
	47.6	62.5	62.2	76.5	79.4	62.1
C	133	147	160	69	35	544
	10.3	9.7	12.4	9.1	8.8	10.3
D	362	254	189	81	35	921
	28.0	16.7	14.7	10.7	8.8	17.5
COLUMN TOTAL	1295	1519	1288	756	399	5257
	24.6	28.9	24.5	14.4	7.6	100.0

Note: (a) A= More
B= Same
C= Fewer
D= Don't know

(b) Figures in the top row of the rectangle report the total number of responses to the six items for the indicated response category and grade.

The second row are percentages of students' responses for each grade responding to the alternative response categories.

Percentages of Students' Aggregated Responses

to Items on Good Citizenship

(Appendix A, 19 - 29)

Active Citizenship

	GRADE					
COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A	54	63	83	70	32	302
	29.2	29.0	45.1	64.8	56.1	40.2
B	80	89	57	30	14	270
	43.2	41.0	31.0	27.8	24.6	36.0
C	51	65	44	8	11	179
	27.6	30.0	23.9	7.4	19.3	23.8
COLUMN TOTAL	185	217	184	108	57	751
	24.6	28.9	24.5	14.4	7.6	100.0

Disengaged Citizenship

	GRADE					
COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A	364	536	478	299	162	1839
	49.2	61.8	64.9	69.2	71.1	61.2
B	297	245	187	94	42	865
	40.1	28.2	25.4	21.8	18.4	28.8
C	79	87	71	39	24	300
	10.7	10.0	9.6	9.0	10.5	10.0
COLUMN TOTAL	740	868	736	432	228	3004
	24.6	28.9	24.5	14 4	7.6	100.0

Non-political Elements

	GRADE					
COUNT / COL PCT	4	6	8	10	12	ROW TOTAL
A	667	815	636	306	153	2577
	60.1	62.6	57.6	47.2	44.7	57.2
B	334	354	262	191	99	1240
	30.1	27.2	23.7	29.5	28.9	27.5
C	109	133	206	151	90	689
	9.8	10.2	18.7	23.3	26.3	15.3
COLUMN TOTAL	1110	1302	1104	648	342	4506
	24.6	28.9	24.5	14.4	7.6	100.0

Note: (a) A= A good citizen
B= Not Sure
C= No

(b) Figures in the top row of the rectangle report the total number of responses to the six items for the indicated response category and grade.

The second row are percentages of students' responses for each grade responding to the alternative response categories.